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ABSTRACT

Based on the thesis that the absence of adequate child care resources in the United States presents a crisis not only for the child but for the parent, the employer, and society as a whole, this book provides an overview of that crisis in child day care. Part 1 briefly indicates the dimensions of the crisis; discusses the historical antecedents of the crisis, from early industrialization in England to the impacts of the New Federalism in the United States; and focuses on socioeconomic factors bearing on the crisis. Part 2 describes some of the major components of the informal child day care delivery system and gives a few examples of the types of programs in operation, including centers, Mom and Pop programs, corporate child care, work-site programs, military programs, family day care homes, parent cooperatives, and school-age care. Characteristics of child day care services are pointed out. Part 3 focuses on policy and program issues--the economics of child day care, regulations and standards, the delivery system, research, policy boards, and, very briefly, related global issues. Part 4 centers on solutions, such as strengthening existing services, information and referral, expanding services, decreasing the need for services, and, extensively, resource mobilization. Appended is a list of national organizations supportive to child advocacy. (RH)

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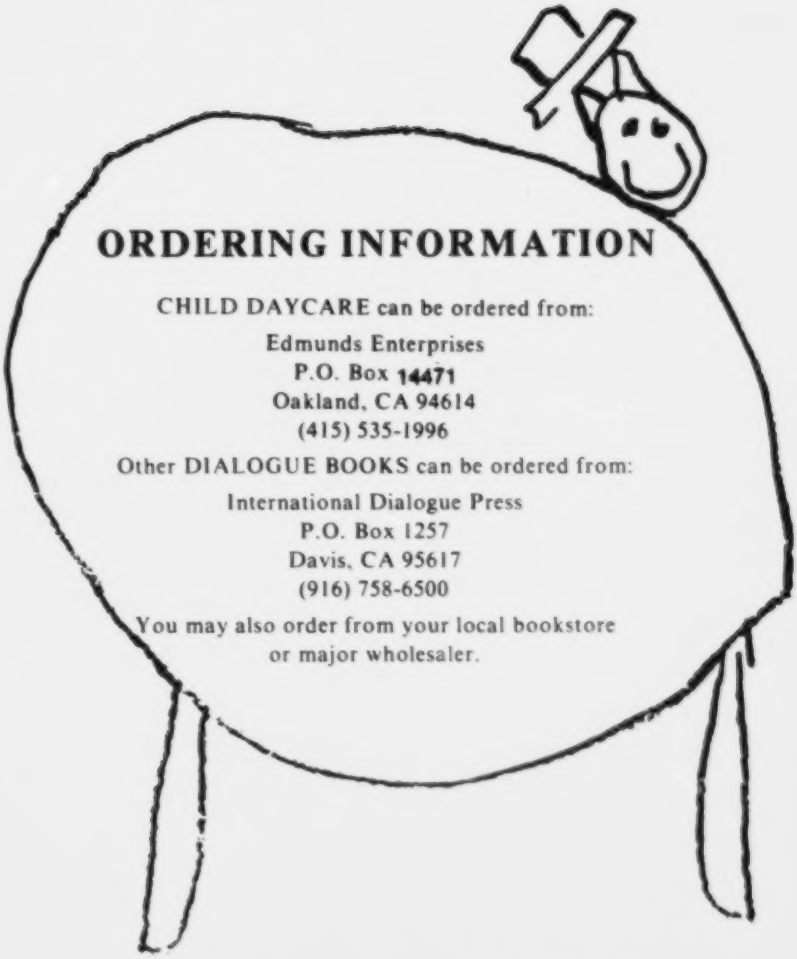

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For my children,
Forrest and Daniel

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JACKQUELINE TRULUCK COOK served as Executive Director for both the Day Care and Child Development Council of America, Inc. and Community Coordinated Child Care of Metropolitan Atlanta. She was also Project Director for the Atlanta Model Cities Child Development Program and participated in many local and national advisory groups concerned with daycare and child development policy and programs. She is now working in the San Francisco Bay Area as a child advocacy consultant and is responsible for the West Coast development and operations of Children's Express, a youth news service.

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FOREWORD

Child Daycare is a timely book. The number of children under six will continue to swell through the remainder of the decade. Estimates range from a three to six million increase in infants, toddlers, and preschoolers (from a base of 18,000,000 in 1980) as women born during the 1940s baby boom have children of their own. And these women are entering the work force in ever-increasing numbers. Again, estimates vary, but by 1990 as many as 11 or 12 million children will need a substantial amount of care from people other than their parents.

Already there are reports that both need and demand are outstripping daycare supply. From Florida come stories of mothers willing and able to pay $70 per week or more for care of their infants—and they can't find takers! From California there is information indicating centers have waiting lists so long (200 or more names) that parents don't even bother adding their child's name. In Ohio there's a town where no family daycare can be found, seemingly at any price.

The Child Care Action Campaign has started to alert the media to daycare issues and has received thousands of letters from all over the country from parents desperate for information and help.

Because the United States has no coherent family and children's policy (and, many would argue, should not have one given the pluralistic and decentralized character of our society), nothing is being done nationally to prepare us for the coming storm. Hence, the crisis in daycare will be a major domestic policy issue by the 1988 election.

This book is an excellent primer for those who want to understand the crisis, its background, and the structural and intractable economic dilemmas that any solutions must overcome. It will be especially useful for the uninitiated because of its comprehensive coverage of daycare history, the changing American family, the various forms of daycare, and its policy discussion. In addition, for those inclined to complacency, there is a sustained note of urgency reminding us that this book is not an academic exercise but a call to action for anyone concerned about America's children.

Richard R. Ruopp
New York
November 1984

PREFACE

Child daycare is a vital national concern. It is a child advocacy issue, a family support issue, a women's issue, a labor issue, and a health, education, and welfare issue. It is the key to economic survival for many families and offers or fails to offer developmental support to millions of children.*

The importance of the early years in human growth and development is undisputed. Yet almost half of our children under six have working mothers who must find alternate forms of child care in a society that has failed to provide critically needed support. Children are left alone, left with each other, or left with incompetent caregivers more often than they are placed in satisfactory arrangements.

Much has been written about the crisis now facing America's families. Some question the survival of the family as a viable institution. With a soaring divorce rate, economic pressures, shifting values, and changing times, there indeed is trouble on the home front. A host of problems are compounded by the lack of an adequate child care support system in our society.

The problem of inadequate child daycare has been evaluated, researched, ignored, overestimated, underestimated, and hotly debated. It has not been solved. Lack of progress can be attributed to a number of factors. Adequate child care is costly. For the majority of working mothers, an inability to pay the full cost is the other side of the coin of need. However, cost is not the only factor. There are complex social, political, and economic contributors to the problem. The primary sufferer, the young child, is powerless in this dilemma. The average working mother has limited personal or political resources to cope with the problem. This is especially true if she happens to be poor, a minority, or very young.

Finding individual solutions is as difficult as finding national solutions when daily survival is the dominant issue. Even the professional woman with some financial security faces the problem of limited options. Juggling the developmental needs of her child, society's need for her skills, the family's need for her income, and her own needs for fulfillment, the more affluent professional working mother shares

the basic child care dilemma with her "sisters" of all socioeconomic circumstances.

Since a nation's future lies in its children, our entire society shares this dilemma. Who will care for our children? Who will pay for it? Who will organize and manage it? Who will train the caregivers? It is unrealistic to expect parents to shoulder this responsibility alone. Parents can and do pay the majority of direct care costs in the form of fees, but the planning and support system calls for broad participation.

Not only do the families of working mothers desperately need their income, these women are needed in the workplace. They are vital members of the labor force. To be responsible parents and productive employees, working mothers need community support. In a very real sense their children are our children. The words of Socrates are still meaningful today: "What mean you, fellow citizens, that you turn every stone to scrape wealth together and take so little care of your children to whom you must one day relinquish all?"

This book is a guide to all who value healthy families and who want to help solve America's child daycare problem.

•The National Campaign for Child Daycare for Working Parents adopted the nomenclature "child daycare" in response to a long-standing semantic dispute. For many professionals, "child care" includes foster, adoptive, and abused child services. For others, "daycare" includes services to handicapped and elderly adults. The campaign defines "child daycare" as "care provided to a child by a person or persons outside the child's immediate family, in centers, family daycare homes, or in the child's own home at any time of any day or night of the week." In support of the campaign nomenclature and definition, I have primarily used the term "child daycare," but for smoother reading I have also interchangeably used more traditional language such as child care.

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PART I

PERSPECTIVES

CHAPTER ONE

THE CRISIS TODAY

Just as certainly as the sun rises in the east across this nation each morning, working mothers begin another day of juggling their parental responsibilities with their job demands. Their young children face another day of "non-maternal substitute care," which ranges from abject neglect to happy, stimulating, and safe situations. Informal arrangements with relatives and more structured family daycare arrangements provide care for the majority of these children. Such arrangements vary from excellent to devastatingly inadequate.

Some preschoolers will be left alone for the day or in the care of other children. After school, kindergarten and elementary children by the thousands will return home to empty houses, unlocking their doors with a key tied on a string around their necks. These latch-key children are often victims of exploitation or boredom. They are prime candidates for behavior problems with negative social and personal consequences.

Only one of every eight children in need of care will go to a licensed center. For the working poor, center-based care is not affordable unless subsidized. Often those who need help most are least able to pay for it. For the working poor, the cost of care can tip the scales, making work "unworkable." The lower- and middle-income families who are ineligible for subsidized services receive little if any benefit from the child care tax credit option. This group relies most heavily on informal and often unstable arrangements.

The absence of adequate child care resources in this country presents a crisis not only for the child, but for the parent, the employer, and society as a whole. Not only does it undermine the most basic foundation of human growth and development, but it is poor economics. In recent years the percentage of women in the work force has increased dramatically, and industry has come to rely on their skills. The most significant increase has been in the number of working mothers with young children.

Since the years preceding World War II, the number of working women has tripled, but the number of working mothers has increased tenfold. The number of preschool children with working mothers has risen to over six million.[1] More than half of all children today have a

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working mother. The combination of economic pressure on the family and labor needs will push the number of preschool children with working mothers to more than ten million by 1990, swelling by approximately three million the numbers in need of care.[2]

Resources to assist working mothers with their child care needs are decreasing. The most acute decrease is in the availability of extended family members. Not only are families geographically scattered, but female relatives are now also working and therefore unavailable. Neighbors and friends are less likely to be available for the same reason, a fact which is projected to increase in the next few years. Many of the present informal arrangements may disappear as family daycare providers enter the formal job market. Relatives and "kissing kin" still provide a significant proportion of child care service and will no doubt continue to do so. But other options are needed.

Child daycare centers have always served no more than a fraction of those in need of care. But with the recent reductions in public funds for human services, losses in terms of both quantity and quality are impacting the already strained system of subsidized non-profit care.

The increasing need for child daycare is directly linked to the movement of women into the work force. The birth rate, in fact, is declining. There are more families headed by females and more with working mothers. Also, there is a distinct trend for mothers with very young children to remain in or enter the job market.

Daycare as a proprietary business is providing service primarily to middle- and upper-middle-income families, while community-based subsidized centers are serving low-income families. The lower-middle-income family faces the problem of being ineligible for subsidized services yet unable to afford full fees. The efforts of non-profit, charitable, subsidized industry-sponsored, and proprietary daycare centers offer a combined total of only about 900,000 licensed slots.[3] Therefore, center-based care is available for less than 10 percent of those who need some form of child daycare service.

This child care crisis not only frustrates working parents, but it raises societal concerns about the development of young children. The early years are important for later life success, yet millions of American children have no supportive alternatives to maternal care. The absence of basic developmental support is not only a personal tragedy for the child; there are broad social consequences as well.

The fact that the birth rate is declining does not mean that there are fewer children. On the contrary, the number of births during the 1980s is expected to rise to a level as high as the "baby boom" of the late 1950s. In 1980 there were approximately 19 million children under six years of age. By 1990 there will be 23 million children in that age group. The

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number of children under six will increase by 23 percent during the 1980s.[4] However, the percentage of older people is increasing dramatically. Whereas there were 100 children to every 30 senior citizens in 1950, by 2010 there will be only 48 children for every 30 people over the age of 65.[5]

With a declining birth rate and a longer life expectancy, this nation is an aging society. Already children comprise only 17 percent of the population. That percentage will decrease in the next few decades. Ever larger numbers of older Americans will be dependent on the productivity of fewer persons. If the potential of tomorrow's adults is limited by inadequate developmental support for children today, there will be a future penalty of national and international proportions. Other industrialized countries seem to have grasped this basic reality, but Americans seem content to live only for the present.

In addition to a possible future crisis, the child care dilemma is central to an immediate economic crisis. It would be wonderful if every mother had the option to be a homemaker and full-time mom during those important years of child rearing, but this is not realistic. The rising divorce rate has created a soaring number of single heads-of-household, both men and women, who are caught in the child care dilemma. Additionally, 30 percent of all working families depend on a combination of husband's and wife's incomes for economic survival. In these families the annual income would fall below $13,000 if the wife were not working.[6] An increasing number of families in the middle-income group also are able to maintain their living standard only through the working wife's contribution to the family income.

Child daycare is a human development issue, and it is an economic issue. It is an immediate problem of crisis proportions affecting families of virtually all socioeconomic characteristics, but it is most acute for the most vulnerable. If we as a society fail to help in finding solutions, the crisis will worsen and all of us will be affected.

CHAPTER TWO

HISTORY

The present child daycare crisis seems on the surface to be a contemporary issue. Indeed, it is a present concern and demands a fresh look. But it is a very old problem. As long as there have been children and families there have been needs for someone other than the natural parent to assume a child-caring role.

There also have been individuals and societies with a belief in specialized child-rearing. Plato advocated that children be removed from their homes and placed in the care of individuals with special training in the care and education of young children. Western civilization did not adopt this position.

Complex traditions and attitudes have brought us to the present child care dilemma. Whereas the need for child care arrangements has been steadily rising for many years, it has only recently reached sustained crisis proportions. All indicators suggest that the child care crisis will become even more critical in the future.

A TAPESTRY OF MANY THREADS

The history of the development of child daycare services in the United States is a tapestry of many threads. There are the threads of educational acknowledgment of the importance of the preschool years as expressed in the kindergarten movement. There are threads of evolving patterns of after-school care, with close links to the public school system. There is also a special dimension of industry-sponsored and work-site child care services. And government involvement with its legislative history spins another major thread, as does the unique role of charitable organizations. There are ethnic and cultural dimensions and a complex history of related socioeconomic changes.

Some current problems with the existing system have their origins in one or more of these historical threads. No single perspective covers the wide range of historical factors contributing to the current child care crisis, but a look at some of the major threads permits a better understanding of the problem and points to possible solutions.

LEGACY FROM ENGLISH LAW

Current attitudes towards children regarding authority over their lives has a legacy dating back to the 16th century and England's earlier Poor Laws. These laws provided for the detention of children in a mixture of social institutions, including indenture and apprenticeship, private orphanages, public institutions for dependent children, jails and almshouses. The earliest English laws protecting children derived from investigations of the abuse of animals by concerned groups who found children in even worse conditions.

During the early industrializing period in England, a scarcity of labor led to the enactment of the Statute of Laborers. Although repealed in 1531, this and subsequent laws established the authority of local jurisdictions to "regulate and control the young, poor and criminal." The Statute of Artificers in 1563 enacted a system of indenture and apprenticeships as an important means of meeting both child care and labor needs. The enactment of Poor Laws in 1601 reinforced government's responsibility in matters of crime and social welfare. The legislation authorized the establishment of large workhouses where children whose parents could not support them would be "bred up to labor, principles of virtue implanted in them . . . and settled in a way serviceable to the public's good and not be bred up in all manners of vice." This proposal was enacted with the passage of the Gilbert Act of 1782.

Early American institutional child care continued the labor/child care connection established in English law. In New England towns, Overseers of the Poor cared for dependent children by indenturing them to private contractors who operated almshouses. "Ill-behaved and idle" children were sent to the house of corrections and later bonded out.

According to a 1976 study by Goldman and Lewis for the Institute for Research in Human Development, the first child daycare center in the United States was probably one opened in 1838 in Boston by Mrs. Joseph Hale. It provided care for the children of seamen's wives and widows. In 1854 a center was established in New York City by the nurses of Children's Hospital to care for their young former patients whose mothers were working. Another record shows a work-site center in 1820 in New Harmony, Indiana, serving employees of Robert Owens.

Child daycare at the turn of the century appeared in the form of day nurseries, continuing the charitable concept of providing support to poor, helpless, and orphaned children. The class bias of the origin of daycare is expressed in this statement, written over a century ago:

> What shall we do with these children? . . . Born by no fault of their

> own. [They have been cast] into the very arms of ignorance, since, and even in infancy into the seething Ganges of our streets. [Centers are to prepare children] for their station in life. All children of suitable age are employed . . . in performing . . . housework under the eye of a matron, thus affording them an excellent opportunity of becoming fitted for servants or future housekeepers. [Serving is taught to the girls] as a suitable occupation for poor families.

Unfortunately, this class bias has been carried forward to current times. It is one of the stumbling blocks to achieving an adequate national system of child daycare services.

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Prior to the Industrial Revolution, work-related child daycare was an issue for only a small percentage of the population. When necessary, family members assisted. With the introduction of factories and "sweat shops," there was a new demand for cheap labor. Women and children entered the work force. With the passage of child labor laws, even more opportunities for meager but gainful employment were generated for women. During the late 1800s and early 1900s, immigrant women working in city factories had special problems. Often separated from family, they carried small children along to work. This gave rise to the first work-site nurseries.

Like the poor work conditions in the factories, work-site nurseries were poor in quality with unsanitary conditions. The motivation of the factory owners who provided day nurseries was simply to maintain cheap labor. By 1910 there were 450 such centers in working-class neighborhoods. In a parallel development, the kindergarten movement reflected the growing awareness of the importance of the preschool years. Early industry participation in kindergartens was quite different from daycare, with emphasis on fostering good habits, obedience, and order. It was not until World War II that the developmental values of early education reflected in the growth of kindergartens was incorporated into daycare on a large scale. However, some industry-based care was seen as having more than minimal value. The King Edward Nursery, founded in 1939 by John H. Swisher & Son, Inc., in Jacksonville, Florida was a 24-hour center serving both boarding and day students. Monthly operating expenses were $18,000. Parents paid one-sixth of the cost and the company paid the balance. According to the company:

> The benefits to the individual employee and to the management

have been most satisfying in terms of mutual relationship, and also there have been unforeseen and immediate gains in higher efficiency, lower costs, and greater productivity.

The development of child daycare in New York City was unique in reflecting the presence of Ellis Island, the immigration entry way to America. Care was acutely needed by immigrant workers and was viewed as a way to Americanize immigrant children. From the turn of the century until the early 1940s, the history of daycare reflected a need of working-class families and employers. Programs were basically custodial and were used by those who desperately needed the service and could not afford alternative arrangements. At the same time, kindergartens and play schools for children of the more affluent were growing in popularity. Full daycare arrangements were seen as a crisis solution appropriate only when the family was unable to perform the child care role. The idea of daycare as a service primarily for "unhealthy" families is reflected in the language in 1963 of the Children's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare:

> The chi'd who needs daycare has a family problem which makes it impossible for his parents to fulfill their parental responsibility without supplementary help.

This attitude has been one of the barriers to national policy for child daycare as a broad social need. In reality, child care support is needed not only by families in crisis but by most working families.

THE GREAT DEPRESSION

While the Industrial Revolution in other parts of the world resulted in government support for child daycare services, it was not until the economic depression of the 1930s that this nation began to subsidize daycare. During that period of economic crisis, legislation was passed establishing the Work Projects Administration (WPA). One of the target groups was unemployed teachers. WPA money was used to finance teacher employment/child care initiatives. During this period, kindergarten, daycare, and after-school care became more closely related. The influence of progressive education was fostering a new philosophy. Children were recognized as individuals with needs for creative expression in flexible learning settings. Play schools were developed in New York City by the Child Study Association of America, operating in settlement houses, community centers, and

public schools. One of the New York programs funded by the WPA involved a coordinated effort between a public school, the Chelsea Recreation Center, and the kindergarten of the Hudson Guild Settlement House. This was one of 1,900 programs serving 40,000 children financed by the WPA. These programs provided jobs, child care for working mothers, and support for children of needy families.

The enlistment of unemployed elementary teachers into preschool child care settings illuminated the need for early childhood education. Teachers trained to work with older children discovered they were not necessarily prepared to meet the needs of the preschool child. This period fostered a closer linkage between daycare, kindergarten, and after-school care and heightened sensitivity to the unique needs of children of different ages in programs designed for various purposes.

WORLD WAR II

World War II presented a new rationale for child daycare services. For the first time in our history, the government, not just the family, desperately needed child care services. Not only the scale of this need, but the status of the working woman during the war created a climate for a commitment to quality care. For the first time, women were urged into the labor force in roles previously reserved for men. As women left home on short notice for the new tasks presented to them, there was an immediate, highly visible child care crisis. Children were left in locked cars and in other unacceptable situations while their mothers patriotically took on new and demanding roles in the war factories.

The magnitude of the problem and a shift in values culminated in passage of the Lanham Act. Unlike the long drawn-out struggles in the years that would follow, action was swift and extensive. Between January 1941 and January 1944, the number of employed women increased by four million. In August 1942, the President committed $400,000 in emergency funds for use by the Office of Defense, Health and Welfare to set up war-related industry child care. At the same time, Congress passed a Community Facilities Bill (the Lanham Act), providing an initial $150 million for facilities, including child care centers.

Within a year, states and local education authorities were operating extended school services and committing emergency funds to complement the federal monies. At peak operations, federal funds were supporting over 1.6 million children in nursery schools and child care centers. These events not only established an unprecedented and unrepeated level of service, they altered local school policies and dismantled red tape at every level of administration and service

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delivery. In other words, in an incredibly short time all obstacles were brushed aside and a national system of developmental child daycare blossomed as a part of the overall mobilization of a nation at war.

One of the best examples of industry-based federally supported programs of World War II was the Kaiser Child Service Centers, which served the Kaiser Shipbuilding Corporation in the shipyard in Portland, Oregon. These centers, located at the shipyard entrance, served over 4,000 children, 18 months to six years of age, during the 22 months of their operation. The centers were open seven days a week, 364 days a year. Programs were also open to older children after school and on holidays, to unenrolled children in need of emergency care, to "over time" children when needed.

Not only were the centers established with the best available early childhood development expertise, and therefore with a quality program for the children, they included a variety of family support services such as take-home food service for parents, shopping assistance, and parent education. Immunizations and health care components were included. Although the Kaiser centers have been best remembered, there were numerous other programs with diverse sponsorships providing responsive, adequate care across the country. Rosie the Riveter did her job while her children played and learned in quality, federally subsidized daycare.

At the end of the war, with few exceptions, the centers closed. With the men back from the front, it was assumed that the women would return home. Pictures of women in overalls in the war-time magazines were replaced by pictures of women in skirts and aprons serving dinner to the family. But the women did not all go back to the kitchen. Many stayed in the labor force, others soon returned; in ever-increasing numbers, the percentage of working women continued to rise rather than to decline.

The old saying that hindsight is 20-20 might well be applied to the child care solution of World War II. The end of the war saw the closing of a progressive chapter in American efforts to meet the needs of the children of working mothers. During World War II, up to 1.6 million children found developmental care available. Today, only 900,000 children find services in licensed daycare. (California was one of the few states, along with Maryland, that did not totally dismantle the Lanham centers. State funds were used to continue services, establishing a base which has survived even Proposition 13.)

Child advocates today look back on the war years as a unique period of political acceptance of the need for child daycare which has never been duplicated. Edward Zigler, former Director of the Office of Child Development and a leader in efforts to secure national policy

supportive of the needs of young children, writes:

> Closing the Lanham centers was probably the gravest error the federal government has made in the history of child care in this country. Women did not simply return to their roles as housewives after World War II as predicted. The number of working mothers has increased steadily over the years. Lanham centers could have been used as the foundation for a broad, national child care system that would have met the needs of both children and working mothers. It would have aided our present-day economy, which desperately needs a productive working population to fulfill the needs of a changing society. If policy makers had had the foresight to build on the Lanham system in 1946, we would not be faced with such a tremendous daycare dilemma in 1980.[7]

In spite of the failure to continue the World War II child care effort, the experience stands as a record of commitment, resourcefulness, and national capability to create and operate quality child care when the decision is made to do so.

THE WAR ON POVERTY

In the 1960s America made a number of rediscoveries. One was a growing awareness of poverty and its costs to society. Another was the importance of the childhood years in education. These two rediscoveries came together in Head Start—one of the most successful of all federal efforts to influence the direction of young children born into disadvantaged circumstances. Head Start not only paved the way for a new understanding of the potential of early intervention, but it set in motion a structure for parent and community control of programs.

Head Start dared to trust the basic good will and motivation of parents in collaboration with the "experts." A new alliance of client and professional was initiated, giving credence to the concept of meaningful parent involvement. This concept has fallen short of its goals in related areas of child care. Nevertheless, it has moderated the idealistic and academic approach to early childhood care and education. Today, child daycare programs are still struggling with the need to balance parental influence with professional direction. The full-time working mother who relies on center-based daycare is pressed for time and energy and is not the best candidate for extensive involvement with her child's program. However, without some meaningful parent involvement, certain program goals cannot be accomplished.

The need for parent involvement has been the subject of study and

concern of policymakers, researchers, and program administrators. The issue is still unresolved. However, an emphasis on parent participation in federally subsidized daycare is clearly a by-product of the War on Poverty.

This period also promoted the concept of early intervention to interrupt the poverty cycle. Recognition of the broad supportive role of child development programs for assisting poor families in gaining economic stability elevated the value of daycare in the total spectrum of human services.

During the 1960s a host of factors converged to heighten sensitivity to the needs and demands of low-income minorities. New coalitions developed, and support for an anti-poverty initiative soared. Human rights activists saw social services as the moral obligation of an affluent society, while conservatives saw them as a safeguard against disruption of a secure lifestyle. Everyone seemed to agree that poverty was unhealthy as well as costly. Child daycare emerged as a priority program for addressing one of the most obvious obstacles to self-sufficiency.

There was, however, a lack of essential information for program development. The issue of regulating and monitoring took on new dimensions. New questions were asked. Task forces and study committees were created. Research in early childhood development took on new importance. Little progress was made in increasing services, but climate seemed to be building for significant progress in the 1970s.

THE RECENT PAST

The past decade has been a time of optimism, battle, defeat, and stalemate for child daycare forces. The impact of the War on Poverty on child daycare took one direction while feminists added another. Child care not only was perceived as an anti-poverty issue with special significance for ethnic minorities but as a broader women's issue. It also picked up momentum as an area of increasing interest to educators. The new thrust of labor and education expressed in job training and employment initiatives also included a fresh look at the role of child care.

These multiple forces converged in a legislative proposal that seemed to have broad support. Child care advocates formed a coalition to support a bipartisan congressional effort for the Comprehensive Child Development Act of 1971. In September of that year, this legislation passed the Senate by 49 to 12 and the House by 186 to 183. The vote in the House reflected the fact that opposition to the bill was mounted by

right-wing activists who charged that the bill was an invasion of the family. President Nixon responded to this attack by a veto on December 9, calling the bill "the most radical piece of legislation to emerge from the 92nd Congress." He added: "For the federal government to plunge headlong financially into supporting child development would commit the vast moral authority of the national government to the side of communal approaches to child-rearing over the family-centered approach." This veto stopped the momentum towards a government commitment for developmental child care. By the time supporters regrouped, Watergate had erupted and there was little success in refocusing attention on this area. Later efforts were labeled inflationary and were further jeopardized by the recession and a public commitment to reducing government spending.

In the early 1970s, child daycare supporters maintained a waning optimism for new bills while trying to expand the use of public funds under exisiting legislation. Title IVA of the Social Security Act provided the primary source of funds, and groups mobilized to try to improve this resource. Child daycare services experienced massive growth during this period, especially where matching funds were available and guidelines for access to and use of Title IVA funds enjoyed liberal interpretation. However, Title IVA was closely tied to welfare issues and included rigid eligibility requirements that forced programs into providing services only to such low-income families that unemployment or underemployment was an informal criterion for continuing services. The system that evolved was an economically segregated system whereby families who could afford fees found care in proprietary centers and those who could not afford to pay full cost looked to non-profit subsidized services. A great deal of energy was expended trying to adjust programs to maintain an economic mix of families. These efforts met with success only when there was maximum cooperation at every level.

The red tape got longer as the dollars got shorter. The program initiated under Model Cities, a federally funded effort of the City Demonstration Act, had a short reprieve while special funding lasted and group eligibility was allowed. Before a ceiling was placed on the open-ended appropriation of Title IV A, public schools eyed these funds as a major source of financing school-sponsored programs to meet a number of financial and programmatic objectives. But, as the guidelines for use of these monies became more restrictive, schools experienced more problems in mixing a public system for everyone with a limited system for a few and in meeting rigid requirements inconsistent with public school policy.

Title IV A was replaced by Title XX and continued to be the major

source of support for child care for low-income families. In 1982 it subsidized almost 800,000 children in a combination of centers and family care settings.[8] Policies on standards and eligibility varied greatly from state to state, but economic segregation remained the rule rather than the exception.

The tax credit provisions have introduced some relief for middle-income families. Since tax credit support of child daycare is relatively new, its impact has not been fully evaluated. Under present definitions, it does not give significant support to the working poor. However, in 1980 the single largest federal expenditure for child daycare was in the form of tax credits at an estimated cost of $900 million.

As it became clear in the mid 1970s that a major national commitment was unlikely anytime soon, child care supporters regrouped to try to maximize existing programs. A new emphasis was placed on information and referral and other supports that would better coordinate supply and demand or otherwise affect economics. A philosophy of "more for less" was taking hold.

By the time President Carter disappointed his supporters on this point, child daycare advocates were exhausted and discouraged. The Reagan administration brought a new wave of reductions in tune with a conservative trend far more interested in immediate economic recovery than in long-range human development goals. Child daycare providers of publicly subsidized services were mustering all their remaining energy to hold on to the remnants of their programs. With inflation and public financing reductions not only at federal but at state and local levels, all human service providers felt like an endangered species.

THE NEW FEDERALISM

The impacts of recent and impending reductions of federal resources for child daycare and its related support system are being felt before they can be tallied. Since comprehensive data are usually based on information gathered months if not years before dissemination in usable form, there is always a lag between perceived reality and documentation. It is now difficult to locate accurate data. Not only have major program reductions been too recent to produce a complete list of casualties, but the data collecting, analyzing, and disseminating mechanisms also have been cut back or dismantled.

Many child advocates may be surprised to find that the federal government no longer has an official office of any kind in any department responsible for daycare issues. The former Office of Child Development within the Administration on Children, Youth and Families was eliminated in 1983 at the national and regional levels. This

office deals with child welfare, including child abuse and neglect, and provides an administrative base for Head Start, but it no longer addresses child daycare specifically. Since Title XX was incorporated into the Social Services Block Grant to states without specific daycare language, the federal offices for those grants do not include specific child daycare components. Private child advocacy groups are struggling to gather and report basic information. The most comprehensive information source is a publication by the Children's Defense Fund.[9] However, months or years may pass before the full picture unfolds. Some information may be irretrievably lost.

How many children have lost services due to federal funding reductions? This question is almost impossible to answer at this point. Experts who know the system and are experienced in data collection are having difficulty coming up with basic answers to basic questions. The stark reality includes the still nameless and numberless human casualties of the budget cuts. Reality is a young mother unable to keep her job because of child daycare problems, a young child crying in an overcrowded playroom, a first grader going home to take care of himself, a ten-year-old staying home from school to take care of his baby brother.

Although potentially significant in impact, the tax credit system is not an adequate replacement for those who cannot afford to purchase care in times of need. The level of need continues to rise. The supply, particularly of affordable developmental care, continues to decline. The present picture is bleak. Just how bad it actually is on a national scale is currently unknown, but the dilemma is real and well-known to children, working mothers, and providers of service.

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CHAPTER THREE

SOCIAL CHANGE

CHANGES IN FAMILY STRUCTURE

Many socioeconomic factors have direct bearing on today's child care crisis. None is more important than family structure. Traditionally, children have been nurtured in an immediate and extended family, the characteristics of which have altered dramatically in recent years. Historically, our society has viewed the child as the responsibility of parents first, followed by next-of-kin in times of crisis.

Embedded in our heritage of attitudes is the perception of children as the property of the family, or more specifically, the father. Relatively few years have passed since the all-powerful father had total authority over the life of the child. A law that essentially gave a father life-or-death power over his child existed in Massachusetts until 1973.[10]

The concept of responsibility and authority resting with the parent has directly influenced national policy on child daycare. Advocates have found it necessary to articulate that child care services are a resource for parents, not a usurping of the parenting role. This point, which seems so obvious, nevertheless seems difficult to grasp for a significant number of policymakers. The fear of displacement of the family by government programs is unwarranted, based on a confusion of the concept of ownership. Capitalism presupposes a direct link between ownership, responsibility, and liability. An underlying presumption that the parent "owns" the child is one of a number of obscure but significant reasons for our national reluctance not only to provide certain development and social services for children but to guarantee basic legal rights.

The traditional family of years past, with the all-powerful male head-of-household served by wife and children and positioned in the context of an extended family, is a vanishing phenomenon. As the nation shifted from a rural to an urban emphasis, family patterns were altered. Not only were family units separated from the larger extended family, but the role of family members changed. On the farm every one had home-based tasks. Even young children contributed, performing basic chores. Mothers were assisted in the care of their children by older

children, aunts, grandmothers, and cousins. If the mother chose to, or was economically forced to leave home for gainful employment, the extended family took over the caregiving role. For black families this was even more common than for white middle-America. Even before the turn of the century, black women were employed outside the house in significant numbers. By 1890, 36 percent of all black women were gainfully employed, in contrast to 14 percent of white women.[11]

The traditional family structure popularized in the 1950s has never existed for large segments of the population. The employed father, homemaker-wife, son, and daughter of the popular stereotype may have been the social ideal, but it was not necessarily a reality. Numerous and significant exceptions have always created the need for alternative supports. Today, in spite of the persisting after-image of the "should be" family, less than 10 percent of all families fit the traditional mold.

Another major factor affecting family structure is the ever-increasing rate of divorce. Reflecting a wide range of personal values and economic changes, the rate of divorce today is creating sweeping changes in lifestyles and child-rearing patterns. During the 1970s divorces resulted in a 45 percent increase in the number of children in one-parent families. By 1981 one out of five children was living in a one-parent family. This reflects an increase of from 12 percent in 1970 to 20 percent in 1980. However, the divorce rate is not the only factor contributing to the rising number of families headed or supported by women. There are widowed mothers, separated families, unwed mothers, and unemployed husbands. Women are maintaining an increasing proportion of all families. In 1982 about one out of six or 16 percent of all families were maintained by women, compared to one out of eight or 12 percent in 1972.

Family structure and its relationship to child care needs and solutions has varied considerably with family economic status. This book addresses child daycare primarily as a service for working mothers. Sometimes it is needed for other reasons. In the 1960s many child advocates were calling for universally available, quality daycare, a national system of developmental care for any family who chose it. This position has been modified. Regular full daycare is now recognized as essentially an employment support. This incudes pre-employment needs while a mother is completing her basic education or attending job training sessions and unemployment time when a parent is job-hunting. However, there also are needs for developmental experience for children and education for parents that are not necessarily employment-related and that may well be met by a flexible delivery system of child daycare.

The affluent have always assumed the need for some assistance with

child care independent of employment. Nannies, governesses, nursemaids, and babysitters have been employed by those who could afford it. Also, the affluent have relied on quality nursery and play schools and other out-of-home assistance. The phrase "non-maternal substitute care" often arouses negative public sentiment, yet for upper-income families, such care has been not only acceptable but sometimes even a status symbol. The moralistic notion that mothers should stay at home full-time with their children has always been based on a double standard. It is not a matter of taking care of their children. A commitment to the needs of their children is as much a motivation for working mothers as it is for working fathers.

The impact of divorce and a highly mobile society continues to alter family structure and to reduce the support system available to working parents. Remnants of yesterday's extended family can still play an important part in creating a viable child care system, but relatives and friends cannot bear the burden of the total need. The availability of family members for child care assistance varies culturally, ethnically, and geographically. A recent Urban League survey showed that 85 percent of urban blacks do have family members living in the same city. Also, rural communities have a history of lower rates of change, and relatives do still play a major role in providing care. However, it is increasingly true that even if grandmother lives next door, she also may be working. Economic pressures are equally true for the extended family, and relatives may not be able to give adequate care for a variety of individual reasons. Reliance on relatives and friends for child care assistance is a limited solution at best.

A WOMAN'S PLACE

Woven into the changing pattern of family structure is the changing role of women in our society. This aspect of the history and current status of child daycare could fill volumes. It is a complex and currently unfolding history, and it is central to the present child care crisis.

The dilemma created by conflicting demands of parenting and employment is compounded for women by social expectations and limitations. Most of today's mothers were taught at an early age to anticipate the joys of motherhood. There are deeply embedded values and social standards of child-rearing in our heritage. Consequently, many mothers face not only the pragmatic problem of finding child care, but the psychological problem of feeling guilty that they are unable to meet social and personal expectations of model motherhood. Roles for women have changed faster than attitudes about these roles. These attitudes are experienced by women internally and externally.

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Internally, many working mothers experience daily anxiety over the pulls between parenting and employment. Worry and stress about inadequate child care arrangements actually lowers productivity, as well as personal satisfaction. Externally, there are a host of ways in which discriminatory attitudes about women are expressed. One of the most acutely felt is in the workplace, where women have always received lower pay and position than their male counterparts. In spite of steady gains in this area, according to the U.S. Department of Labor the median annual earnings of a woman working full-time in 1981 represented only 60 percent of the earnings of her male counterpart. In other words, a woman earned 60 cents for each one dollar earned by a man.

This discrepancy is even more acute for minority women. For instance, the median income for black women is less than $6,000 per year.[12] Because of salary discrimination, female heads-of-household have difficulty paying for child care of any kind—i.e., daycare, babysitting, nursery school, day camp, etc. Cost of care varies from informal arrangements starting at $100 a month per child to center-based care averaging over $150 a month and sometimes as high as $400 monthly. Fees for infants can run twice as high. For the young divorcee earning minimum wage with a 18-month old baby, a preschooler, and perhaps a first or second grader, costs of care may absorb over half her salary. The obvious alternative is to rely on welfare assistance unless some type of subsidized care is available.

There are still many unresolved work issues for women, but most women in the work force are there to stay. Despite the unemployment rate, the number of working women in the United States has risen 21 million or 95 percent over the past two decades, according to the Department of Labor. Women workers in the recent past were either factory laborers or employed in a job category dominated by women such as nursing, teaching, and clerical. Today more women are taking jobs in categories once largely the province of men. For instance, the number of women insurance adjusters rose from 9 percent in 1961 to 26 percent in 1982; female bill collectors, from 22 percent in 1961 to 37 percent in 1971 to 63 percent in 1982. In 1971 only 4 percent of the nation's lawyers and judges were women. A decade later women accounted for 14 percent, an increase of 250 percent in ten years. From 1971 to 1981 the percentage of women physicians increased from 9 to 22 percent. Now, considerably more than one doctor in five are women. According to 1981 government figures, women accounted for 119,000 physicians and dentists, 82,000 lawyers and judges, and 67,000 engineers.[13]

The U.S. Department of Labor figures reflect only what has already

happened. Future increases should be even more dramatic due to the breaking down of educational barriers. Today, more than half of all college students and more than a fourth of all doctoral candidates are women. For women who move into higher-paying positions, child care will become more affordable. However, if adequate services are not available, the dilemma will remain. Also, buying power of the parent does not address the need for staff training, information and referral services, and other supportive elements of the child daycare delivery system. Nor do these gains address the needs of mothers while they are in school or in the entry pay level of a potentially well-paying position.

Public perception has not kept pace with the changing status of women. One of the major evidences of this is the lack of national commitment for child daycare services. Proof of this is seen in the World War II experience when the status of women not only was temporarily altered by a national crisis but was fully perceived and supported in this area.

PUBLIC EDUCATION

The relationship between the Industrial Revolution and the initiation of the public school system also is a part of the historical perspective of child daycare. Prior to the Industrial Revolution even very young children participated in the home production of essential goods. Tasks of food preparation, soap and candle making, carding and weaving provided essential roles for family members of all ages. As these goods became factory-produced, home-based production roles for children diminished. Compulsory schooling, the enactment of child labor laws, and the freeing of children from home duties came together at the turn of the century. Public schools became a reality but older children still were being kept home to care for their younger siblings. Part of the motivation for day nurseries was linked in the early 1900s to the effort to keep older children in the public education system. These same circumstances promoted the development of after-school arrangements for younger school-age children. In the 1920s and 1930s play schools and summer camps for school-age children began to emerge, with emphasis on creative expression and other progressive education concepts. Most after-school care was public-school-related, giving it status not enjoyed by child daycare centers. However, many centers also began to serve older brothers and sisters. This collaborative preschool and after-school care arrangement would be further promoted by initiatives during the Depression and later during World War II.

CULTURAL/ETHNIC DIFFERENCES

It is impossible to adopt a historical perspective on child daycare without acknowledging some differences and similarities among the various groups needing and using services. Today's need for child care is broad, touching families of all cultural and ethnic backgrounds. To some extent it even touches the most advantaged in our society. But the working poor have always been most heavily impacted. In the late 1800s and 1900s, immigrants faced special problems. The appearance of factory-based day nurseries was largely a response to the critical needs of this group. Migrant workers continue to have special needs, as do Native Americans and other minority groups.

There is a significant and unique black perspective on child daycare described by Evelyn Moore, Executive Director of the National Black Child Development Institute, in a recent book. Moore observes that blacks have particularly acute concerns relevant to economic and education issues alleviated by developmental child daycare.[14] Due to a number of socioeconomic realities, black families have been and continue to be disproportionately impacted by inadequate child care resources. The need for non-maternal substitute care for black children historically has exceeded that of white families simply because black women have always worked in higher percentages than white women.

Long before factory-related day nurseries were introduced, informal field nurseries served black slave children. After the Civil War and until World War II, black women were twice as likely to be gainfully employed as white women. Since World War II both black and white women have been increasingly employed in equal proportions. Historically, most working black mothers have relied primarily on informal arrangements in an extended family system. Only in the recent past have publicly supported developmental child care centers been available to black families. Prior to the federal programs initiated in the 1960s and 1970s, there was a scattering of daycare centers in black communities and on college campuses. But assistance by family members remains the most prevalent form of child care arrangements for black families.

The availability of educationally focused child care has been of particular significance to blacks. Developmental care addresses educational and economic issues that are heightened for minorities. Due to a combination of historical and present realities, black families have utilized approximately 44 percent of all available federally subsidized child daycare slots. This probably reflects not only the high level of need for service but the value placed on early education opportunities. The success of Head Start has no doubt influenced black

parent preferences for center-based developmental care. However, one of the most significant factors related to the child daycare needs of black families is the fact that 41 percent of all black families are maintained by women compared to 13 percent of white families and 23 percent of Spanish-origin families.[15]

SUMMARY

The situation today is the product of a complex history of actual needs versus public perception of needs. Attitudes about women and minorities have obscured the facts. The need for child daycare assistance has been acute for some time, but traditionally child care has been viewed as a family responsibility.

Until child care became a government concern and public priority during World War II, little attention was given to the problem. Even then it was viewed primarily as a problem of white, middle-class, war factory workers. Nevertheless, the war effort included an unparalleled mobilization of child daycare followed by a post-war period of dismantlement. From then until the War on Poverty, child care needs increased but with little government interest. The Great Society initiative of the 1960s laid the groundwork for a national daycare commitment in the 1970s, but the tide turned before legislation was enacted and swept child daycare, along with other human services, into a backwash of lowered priority.

With a decline in public support, child daycare programs have been struggling to maintain levels of service. There has been little expansion, but the demand for services has been steadily rising. Over the past few years attempts have been made to maximize the use of existing resources. Past sponsors and potential sponsors are reevaluating their roles. The impact of the tax credit option is just beginning to be felt, while federal funding reductions are making dramatic changes not only in service levels but in related support systems. Since data collection efforts are being reduced alongside programs, it is difficult to document the present situation.

This is a time of reassessment. A close review of the problem shows that conflicting social values are impeding progress in this area. Who is responsible for child care: parents or society as a whole? Do mothers belong in the work force or in the home? Even in the 1980s these remain emotionally charged subjects.

From the early days of the Industrial Revolution until the present, women have comprised an increasing percentage of the labor force. Yet the place of women in general and mothers in particular is still debated in this country. Mothers work, have been working, and will continue to

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work, but the question is still asked: "Should they work?" They must. In addition to personal family needs, there are national, social and economic needs. Women's skills are essential to national productivity. Until public opinion (which in this country usually becomes public policy) is clear on this point, the child care dilemma will persist.

It is this recent history of declining supply and increasing demand that has brought us to the current crisis. The threads of past history fostered the climate for this crisis. Unfortunately, the situation seems likely to get worse before it gets better.

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PART II

CHILD DAYCARE TODAY

A mother seeking child care assistance today faces a bewildering scene. Some communities offer information and referral to aid the identification of appropriate care settings. However, most mothers resort to trial and error, relying on direction from friends and relatives, community organizations, and the media to find care for their children. There is no system. Service delivery is diverse and unorganized, containing both formal and informal components. With few exceptions, child care services have evolved without benefit of comprehensive planning and evaluation.

There is no adequate way to inventory the thousands of informal arrangements that exist outside the scope of licensing or other forms of regulation. Even the more formal components do not have a common base. For instance, certain public institutions, including the public schools, do not follow the same regulatory patterns as private child daycare and therefore may not be included in some inventories. Programs serving children only part-time are not regulated in the same fashion as full-day programs, and therefore are often an uncounted part of the delivery system.

One positive aspect of this fragmented scene is the fact that it has preserved elements of diversity consistent with current child-rearing values. No single institution has emerged as the sole sponsor in child daycare. Although this creates a less definable system, it fosters some important values for building a responsive nationwide system of child care. Child care is everyone's business: community organizations, business and industry, labor unions, entrepreneurs, parent groups, individuals, churches, public schools, hospitals, government agencies, military, and a host of other providers. This diversity increases parent options in choosing the type of program they prefer, and it does provide the basic elements for creating a comprehensive but not uniform or regimented system of care.

Today's scene includes bits and pieces of a wide range of approaches. Some experiences have been well documented and provide excellent models for study. Other efforts are still in experimental stages and have not been evaluated, while still others are remnants of problem-oriented programs. There is an acute need for more study and evaluation of delivery system issues and of program models. There is a particularly acute need for information exchange and networking among those individuals and organizations providing or planning to provide child daycare services.

The following brief discussion addresses some of the major components of this informal delivery system and gives a few examples of the types of programs in operation. This is not an exhaustive treatment, but the components and programs cited provide a sketch of

the current "state of the art" of child daycare. A publication of the Children's Defense Fund describes a number of specific model programs in more detail.[1]

CHAPTER FOUR

CENTERS

A baseline definition of a child daycare center is a non-residential group setting serving more than six children for more than four hours a day. Definitions and licensing laws vary from state to state as to the precise requirements for operation. In some instances, publicly financed programs may operate under additional requirements. Basically, all full-day centers must meet some type of standard to insure the health and safety of the children they serve and to provide some level of meaningful support to the emotional, intellectual, and physical needs of young children.

Program quality varies dramatically from one center to another. Certain evaluation criteria are specific and objective, but other elements are quite subjective and it is often difficult to trace outcomes to specific causes. It is also difficult to develop a standard profile of center-based care. Centers vary in size from very small groups to large facilities caring for hundreds of children. Facilities vary from new buildings designed specifically for child daycare to converted space in churches, educational buildings, old homes, storefronts, or other available space. There are common program elements, but philosophies and approaches vary. Some centers also are new to the scene with a history measured in months, while others have provided service since the mid-1800s.

According to the latest count, performed by Abt Associates for the National Day Care Study, there were approximately 18,310 child daycare centers in the United States in 1977. The majority, 59 percent, were non-profit, while 41 percent, or almost 7,500, were profit-making centers. Most non-profits provide service at a reduced cost or no cost, while proprietary programs charge full fees. In some instances programs are able to serve a mix of subsidized and non-subsidized families. However, this format often presents administrative and bookkeeping problems. Both non-profit and profit-making formats also vary dramatically from one program to another.

NON-PROFIT PROGRAMS

Child daycare had its beginnings in non-profit efforts whereby

charitable groups established programs for needy children. Some programs initiated in the 1800s have continued to provide services into the present.

Sheltering Arms is a typical non-profit program. It was initiated in the late 1800s in Atlanta, Georgia, by a Sunday School group in response to the needs of female heads-of-household who were desperate for assistance in caring for their young children while they worked. The priority of service to female heads-of-household has continued into the present. The program operates several centers in low-income neighborhoods.

Another early program still in existence is in Washington, D.C. The Rosemont Center is a child daycare effort which grew from the House of Mercy, established in 1889 by the Association for Works of Mercy to meet the needs of unwed mothers. This program now offers services to both infants and preschoolers in an integrated bilingual program. It includes not only center-based services, but an auxiliary system of licensed family daycare homes for infants. This program operates with a combination of local public funds and monies from private sources, including parent fees.

Typically, a community-based, non-profit daycare center will have a history of community interest and support which may extend many years into the past. Usually, the board of directors is a representative group of community leaders, parents, and professionals in the fields of social service and early childhood education. Most such programs operate with a combination of public and private funds and are often participants of community fundraising programs such as United Way. Usually they offer services with a sliding-fee schedule, adjusting fees according to the parent's ability to pay. Historically, non-profit programs have had strong linkages to related community and social service organizations. They are eligible for tax-deductible donations from individuals, businesses, and funding groups. The characteristics of non-profit programs enable them to gain access to community resources and support.

MOM AND POP PROGRAMS

Small operations, often family owned and run and known in the child care community as "mom and pop" programs, serve a significant number of children. These programs are proprietary in nature and are basically small business operations. They seldom show high levels of profit if the time of the owner and other participating family members is adequately considered in the operational cost. In the 1970s, when public monies became available, a number of small operations converted to a

non-profit status and altered their methods of operation in order to become a part of the non-profit delivery system and to participate in public funding.

Today, the small center operator faces increasing fiscal problems due to inflation and regulatory mandates. There is a tendency for independent centers to sell out to corporate chain operations. Also, bankruptcy and business failure are impacting the independent centers as they are other types of small businesses in these difficult times.

There has not been a great deal of research on the characteristics of independent centers. The quality of care varies greatly. Some are primarily custodial while others provide enriched and adequate programs. The capabilities and attitudes of the owner tend to set the level of quality of the operation.

The independent centers are found in the yellow pages of every local phone directory. The center name is often the name of the owner. Usually independent centers have a relatively short history as they are tied to the effort of one individual over a part of that person's productive lifetime. Independently owned and managed daycare centers account for 86 percent of for-profit daycare, but they are often not integrated into the delivery system as effectively as non-profit programs, which usually have greater visibility and are able to offer a more comprehensive range of services.

CORPORATE CHILD CARE

The movement toward incorporated chains of daycare centers gained momentum during the 1970s. One of the larger chains, KinderCare, has more than 725 centers in 36 states and Canada. Children's World, Inc., has over 100 centers. Chains such as these have been able to cope with the rising cost of services and the problems of inflation by growth and to some extent by group buying and other economies such as the tax structure fostered by large business operations.

The big daycare chains such as KinderCare and Children's World, Inc., serve primarily a middle-American clientele with incomes 10 to 15 percent above the median. For this reason these chain centers are found primarily in suburban areas. In fact, large corporate child care is practically nonexistent in rural and inner-city areas. Since there is an increase in demand for services by middle-income families, it appears that corporate child care operations will continue to expand.

Program characteristics of chain centers vary from program to program. However, it is generally true that corporate child care provides fewer social services and other supportive elements to families than non-profit centers. Generally speaking, salaries are slightly lower

in profit-making centers and the turnover of staff is slightly higher.[2] There is some debate over the appropriateness of the profit motive in child care. Nevertheless, for-profit centers will probably continue to be a viable component of the daycare delivery system.

When "chain" daycare came on the scene in the early 1970s, some spoke wryly of Kentucky Fried Children. Opinions ran strong that profiteering on child daycare would lead to inferior programs and undermine the gains that had been made. This view has been somewhat modified. Today there is greater consensus among child advocates that program quality is not necessarily dependent on type of sponsorship or profit orientation.

Many national daycare chains began as franchise operations. In a franchise operation the parent company collects a percentage from the investor who buys the use of the name and instructional materials and equipment. Some lack of control by the owner of the franchise is inherent in the concept. Success depends upon the competence of the program manager, who does not necessarily have the administrative skills to match his or her interest. For the most part, the franchise concept in the daycare field has not prospered. The more successful operations have become chains and the number of franchises has declined. Franchised child care will probably not be a major factor in the foreseeable future.

Without community planning, the rising use of tax credits as a means of assisting families with child care costs will probably foster the community development of for-profit programs. Also, other publicly allocated funds can be used to purchase care from for-profit as well as non-profit operations. There now seems to be an increase in concern for the level and quality of service needed and a decrease in concern for the issue of for-profit versus non-profit.

WORK-SITE PROGRAMS

Work-site programs have emerged at periods of particular need, first appearing during the Industrial Revolution, gaining momentum during the second World War, then reappearing in the late 1960s and early 1970s as the sharp increase in numbers of working mothers attracted the interest and support of employers. The emphasis on work-related and work-site child daycare was somewhat curtailed by the economic recession. Some pioneers in the field of industry-sponsored child care have demonstrated a commitment and report plans for increasing services. However, the economic situation in the early 1980s placed limitations and restrictions on those who might otherwise have moved forward with expansion plans.

The few work-site child care programs during the late 1960s and early 1970s were not as successful as anticipated. Program costs ran higher than anticipated and outside funding did not prove stable. In some cases the location of services at the work site was not convenient for parents. Most programs that opened during that period have now closed. However, others that were conveniently placed and suited to employees' needs have flourished, providing some excellent models for emulation.

One of the better known work-site programs is sponsored by Stride Rite. The Boston Center opened in 1971 and the Cambridge Center in 1981, serving a combination of employee and community children. Both centers operate with a combined financing of parent fees, state department funds, and contributions from Stride Rite's charitable foundation. Arnold Hiatt, President of Stride Rite Corp., in an article in *Industry Week* in November 1982, said: "Mounting evidence suggests that in the future, corporate America, willfully or not, will be playing an expanded role in meeting daycare needs. A recent Harris poll indicates that corporate-sponsored child care could emerge as a major labor/management issue before the end of the present decade. Stride Rite is recognized as a leader in the field of on-site industry-sponsored services and is one of approximately 50 industries now actively involved in the sponsorship of programs."

Other on-site, employer-sponsored daycare centers include: Emperor Clock Company in Alabama; the Living and Learning Center at Connecticut General Life Insurance Company; Children's Playroom at the Playboy Resort in Wisconsin; Mary G. Hutcheson Center sponsored by Fortney Engineering in Addison, Texas; Chataugua Opportunities, Inc., of Welch Foods in Westfield, New York; Zale Child Development Center in Texas; Mississippi Industries for the Blind; Photocorporation of American Child Development Center in North Carolina; Living and Learning Centers at Allendale Insurance Company in Rhode Island and at Union Mutual Life Insurance Company in Portland, Maine; and the center at Hoffman LaRoche in Clifton, New Jersey. It is estimated that there are now approximately 200 employer-sponsored centers.

Hospitals have proven to be favorable settings for on-site care. There are up to 300 hospital-related programs across the country. Seventy-five of these are cited in a publication by the Department of Labor.[3]

Not only has industry been involved in development of child daycare services for employees, but corporations such as Ford and Polaroid have initiated systems to give financial assistance to employees through purchase-of-care arrangements. This type of employer support fills the gap between wealthy and low-income families' needs for assistance and is consistent with tax trends.

Organized labor has been very involved in the issue of employee-related child care. The unions have lobbied for federal legislation, but they have also thwarted daycare legislation over the controversial issue of prime sponsorship. The Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union has been directly involved in the initiation and support of daycare services. Due to the nature of the issues surrounding employee-related child care, organized labor is likely to continue to be an important contributor to developments.

The obvious need for and benefits of employee-related child care sometimes promote an enthusiasm which then must be moderated by attention to some very real problems and issues. There are at least four significant obstacles:

- The recession: In the late 70s and early 80s the national economy reduced the capabilities of businesses which have pioneered in this field to expand their efforts. In certain instances there has been no lack of commitment, understanding, or intention. There has been a lack of resources.

- Equity: Employers have serious problems with the issue of equal benefits for all employees. Not all employees have young children and some may not want services even if offered. A new trend to offer "flexible benefits" whereby an employee can choose from a variety of options seems to be the best solution. However, flexible benefits are a new concept and not yet widely available.

- Quality of available services: Due to a long list of problems familiar to child advocates, many existing services are not stable or of satisfactory quality. Employees have concerns about liability in purchasing from or referring to existing services.

- Value system: In spite of the ever-rising numbers of women in the work force attitudes toward their changing roles have lagged behind. Confusion and resistance to social changes go hand in hand with needs for employer-related child care. Traditional attitudes still dominate public opinion, although fewer and fewer families fit the traditional model of a working father and mother at home with two children under 18. A recent study in Minnesota revealed that only 6 percent of Minnesota families were "typical" by this traditional model.[4]

MILITARY PROGRAMS

The largest and most comprehensive employer-supported child daycare program in the United States is that operated by the Defense Department. At military installations across the country there are programs which include full daycare, part-day or nursery school, hourly care, family daycare, and before- and after-school care. Centers also remain open in the evenings and weekends to serve parents' social needs.

These programs are financed by a combination of Defense Department appropriations, parent fees, and non-appropriated funding at individual installations. The Army has the largest effort, serving approximately 23,000 children in a combination of 281 programs located at 162 installations. The Air Force serves 18,000 children in centers, 11,000 in preschool programs, and 1,000 in before- and after-school youth centers. The Marine Corps serves approximately 4,000 children in 33 programs at 16 installations, while the Navy provides care to 12,000 children in 78 centers.

CHAPTER FIVE

FAMILY DAYCARE HOMES

The provision of informal child care arrangements in the community is known as family daycare. A component of the overall delivery system, family daycare represents the largest type of care. It falls into two basic categories: relative care, which is usually very informal, and community-based, non-relative family daycare, which is often more structured.

It is estimated that more than five million children of working mothers are cared for in some type of informal family daycare arrangement.[3] In most states family daycare is not licensed. It may be registered, or in some cases there are new systems of voluntary licensing, particularly for non-relative care. However, family daycare is largely unregulated. It is an informal network of friends and relatives providing assistance, usually to persons in their own community. It is not unusual for the family daycare operator to include one or more of her own children or grandchildren as a part of her group, along with other neighborhood children. Many family daycare arrangements are excellent. They are conveniently located, reliable, and stable. They appeal to the mother's need to know and trust the caretaking person. However, due to many factors, family daycare arrangements can be very unstable.

When a family daycare operator is ill or decides to take a job or to go on vacation, there is usually no substitute caregiver available. Also, with few exceptions, family daycare is not linked to supportive resources or broader social services that might be needed by the families using this form of care. The obvious advantage of low capital investment and smaller groupings, particularly for very young children, has led to the creation of auxiliary family daycare homes as a part of many local child care systems. This practice varies widely from state to state. In certain instances, family daycare is also licensed as a component of a comprehensive child care system and is comparable in most aspects to the center-based care available in the same program. Unfortunately, in addition to well-organized, reliable family daycare efforts, there are large numbers of unreliable, undesirable arrangements that are used because no alternatives exist.

In most states, family daycare as an unlicensed and unregulated service is reserved for groupings of children of six or less; usually also there are restrictions on the number of infants in such a group. However, in the absence of monitoring resources, there are no doubt many violations of these restrictions. Larger family daycare homes operate illegally, serving too many children in settings that do not meet basic health and safety requirements and have little or no educational capacity. Occasionally, such programs are settings for severe problems, including child abuse and neglect or other hazards that when exposed make news headlines.

Family daycare has the potential and the capacity to meet certain specialized needs. Often handicapped children can be better served in an in-home arrangement of this type. Also, siblings who can be cared for in the same setting can benefit from a family-based operation. There are many inherent advantages in a family daycare setting, and the arrangement is preferred by many parents. This form of service is certainly an important component of the overall delivery system. Where it can be linked to other supportive services and offered in combination with center-based care, it can be a desirable community option. Relative care will no doubt remain an informal component of the overall system, but non-relative family daycare could and should become more structured to improve program quality and accountability and to allow greater access to supportive services.

Some outstanding examples of organized family daycare are found throughout the country. The Family Day Care Network in San Francisco, for example, is a child care and job training program designed to meet the special needs of parents who work evening and weekend schedules in settings such as hospitals and police departments.

CHAPTER SIX

PARENT COOPERATIVES

In recent years, as the daycare shortage has become acute, mothers have pooled their efforts to provide shared services. Such parent cooperatives have been successful in varying degrees. One of the obvious problems derives from the fact that a working mother may have little time to contribute to program operations. Nevertheless, some groups have been successful in maintaining a center-based service for participants over a period of years and have found innovative ways to schedule participants' required hours in the center.

A more popular and achievable format for parent cooperatives is found in neighborhood babysitting co-ops. Such arrangements are limited and do not usually meet the needs of women employed full-time, but they can provided a valuable complementary resource. Most such co-ops operate on a point system whereby parents are awarded points for caring for other members' children which they can exchange for service when they need assistance. Play groups and "shared care" arrangements are also a part of this type of care.

Parent cooperatives for part-time care usually are home-based. Participating parents either go to the home of the person requiring service or bring the child into their own home. However, some center-based projects are successful also. This type of program has potential not only for meeting limited child care needs, but for providing valuable support to mothers in their child-rearing responsibility. One participant in a San Diego neighborhood babysitting co-op reported:

> I found it interesting to discuss with other women the continuing strain of adjusting to motherhood and the feelings of isolation that I thought were solely mine. In just a few hours I had gained the promise of a workable solution to my babysitting problems, a new perspective on child care and a new group of friends. In the weeks that followed, I became an enthusiastic babysitting co-op convert.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SCHOOL-AGE CARE

A parent's child care needs do not end when the child enters school. Daycare for the young school-age child is also a problem. Before school hours, after school, during holidays and vacations, there is a need for a care arrangement for young school children.

There are special problems for the kindergarten-age child whose school day is short and who may have become ineligible for other preschool services. Additionally, the kindergarten child who has to adjust daily to two group settings has a very exhausting day.

The problems of lack of school-age child care are felt not only by working parents, but by school personnel and the community at large. A number of community service agencies, such as Boys Clubs and Girls Clubs and city recreation programs, provide activities that serve a child care need for this age group. However, these programs do not necessarily offer the kind of accountability needed by younger school-age children.

As would be expected, school-age child care has had a much closer relationship to the public school system than has preschool care. Public schools and community organizations have often collaborated to provide after-school activities. A number of daycare centers also provide at least some services to older brothers and sisters during after-school hours.

Just as there has been an increased need for daycare for preschool children, the number of school-age children is also increasing. Due to the post-war baby boom, there has been a recent increase in children between the ages of six and 13. In 1979 there were 28 million children in this six-to-13 age category. By 1990 there will be over 30 million children of that age. Mothers of young school-aged children are twice as likely to be employed as mothers of preschool children. These figures add up to the fact that about 18 million children between the ages of six and 13 probably need some form of child care or will need such care by 1990.[6]

About one-third of all the children now being served in licensed daycare are five years of age and over, 21 percent being five years old and 13 percent six years old and over.[7] These figures suggest that many

mothers are utilizing full daycare for their five-year-olds instead of kindergarten, but when their children enter first grade they are no longer using the centers for after-school care. There are many obvious problems in assimilating school-age children into a daycare center program. Since programs must control the ratio of children to staff and space, there are not openings for children for only part of the day unless other children are leaving early.

Over 100 public school systems in the country are now providing some form of before- or after-school care. Usually the school system operates these services with totally separate staff and provisions. In some school systems where enrollment has been declining, space has become available for the operation of extended-day programs. In some instances, special funding has been available to stimulate the development of school-age care.

There are issues about school liability and limitation of school responsibility in providing care for children before and after school hours. Some systems have resisted the concept of daycare and have carefully labeled their programs "extended day." Activities are limited to regular school calendar schedules so that they are truly extensions of the school day and are not available for vacation periods or other times when the school is not in operation. There are excellent examples of cooperation between community programs and school systems to create networks of home-based parents who monitor the activities of the children, helping them to make use of other community-sponsored and school-sponsored programs. Unfortunately, some of the more creative models for school-age child care do not fit the funding guidelines of the major systems of financing programs for children. Nevertheless, in many areas, such as in the Boston suburb of Brookline, there are well-organized after-school programs which operate separately but in close coordination with the public schools. Another outstanding program is found in the Orange County public schools of Orlando, Florida, where home-based child care is provided before and after school for working parents. Children go to a participating neighborhood home when their parents leave for work and return there after school for activities supervised by the home mother.

The need for school-age child care has existed for a long time, but models, standards, and organizational structure for school-age care has lagged behind efforts to provide full daycare. Today, increased interest in this area has been shown by parents, school administrators, and citizens in general, as well as by unemployed teachers and others who see the school-age programs as a source of employment in a field that can make good use of their skills.

A number of obstacles will need attention in the next few years to

better define program options for school-age children. These include issues of licensing and space use. Opinions vary regarding the type of programs needed—should they be educational, cultural, developmental, or custodial? What roles should various institutions play, particularly the public schools? Currently, school-age child care overlaps areas of center-based care and family daycare, and exists as a special form of service found within the public schools and community service organizations. It is an important part of the overall delivery system and an area that needs further study and information sharing.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CHARACTERISTICS OF CHILD DAYCARE SERVICES

There are a variety of formats for meeting full-day child care needs. Many families rely not on one but on a combination of types. Basically, they fall into three categories: center-based care, family daycare, and in-home care. A number of labels are commonly used to describe these different types of services. For instance, in-home care is popularly known as babysitting, which is also a label for family daycare. Center-based care may be called nursery school, child development center, play school, daycare, or some similar term. Regardless of the label, there are some common characteristics, demands, and responsibilities.

NEEDS OF CHILDREN

Child care arrangements are a service to society as a whole and families in particular, and they connect with important economic goals. But they are first and foremost a service to the child. Regulations to assure health, safety, and human development are based on this premise. Child advocates may cluster around sub-issues of significance, but ultimately the welfare of the child is the fundamental concern. If a service fails to meet the child's developmental needs, it is unlikely to be supportive of social and family concerns.

A wealth of literature is available on early childhood development. Local community colleges, universities, libraries, and high schools offer courses and resources in a variety of formats. Providers have a moral if not legal obligation to be well-informed on the needs of children they serve.

Regulatory procedures reflect a social concern for the protection of children and usually mandate at least some exposure of staff to child development theory and practice.

NEEDS OF PROVIDERS

In order to function in the best interests of the child and his or her

family, providers of care need community support. Not only is ongoing training a must, but there is a need for support for the development of child daycare as a profession. Special aptitudes and skills are essential. Historically, these have not been socially valued, as reflected not only in salary ranges but in community attitudes.

There is a need for coordination to facilitate career planning and mobility of those who work in child care settings. Publicly funded programs have offered more in the way of staff development and support than their privately funded counterparts. Increasingly, adult education departments of the public schools as well as the community colleges are offering courses of study. These programs are important, but they do not meet all the needs of providers. Opportunities to observe good programs, exchange ideas, give and receive moral support, and participate in professional organizations are helpful. Also, providers need information and referral support systems to help in matching supply and demand. They need appropriate salaries, fringe benefits, developmental incentives, cooperation from parents, and most of all, respect for the importance of the work they do. They need encouragement from one another, from parents, and from the community at large. Their task is difficult and increasingly essential in the modern world.

NEEDS OF PARENTS

Working parents experience constant conflict between their job responsibilities and their parenting demands. With some exceptions, they are vitally concerned about the welfare of their children and give high priority to meeting their needs. However, many are handicapped by a lack of information about and understanding of the developmental needs of children. Also, information about available resources may be difficult to obtain, or resources may indeed be unavailable.

Adequate and affordable child daycare is very hard to find, especially for the single parent. Some parents can afford to pay total costs of care, but the majority of those needing service can only pay ten to sixty percent of actual cost and need subsidies to participate. Without subsidy, many parents are caught in a no-win situation of being unable to afford to work, and welfare becomes the only practical alternative.

Apart from financial aid, many parents also need emotional support from child care providers. They need reassurance that their children are safe and happy. The working mother who is anxious about her child's well-being is not as productive an employee. Constant child care problems can disrupt family stability and contribute to family stress, whereas adequate arrangements can strengthen the family.

A major new role for parents, which will become even more important as options increase, is the role of selecting quality care. This responsibility requires not only basic information on the characterization of good programs but a clear sense of the individual needs of one's own children and family. Many community groups can help parents in this regard, and the media can also play a valuable role.

Also, parents need educational assistance from child care providers so that they can promote and reinforce their children's developmental progress. Few have time and energy enough for structured classes in parenting or lengthy observation sessions. However, innovative ways can be found to strengthen parent involvement and education.

Unfortunately, many parents are ill-equipped for this important life role. Public education has failed to see it as a priority. Mothers, particularly the very young, are faced with a responsibility for which they have little background. Child daycare providers cannot be expected to fill this vacuum alone. Their primary responsibility is the care of the child, not the education of the parent. However, most recognize the critical linkage between the two and will provide assistance where possible.

Parents also need special consideration for special problems. A sick child may be an ever-present crisis in an otherwise under-control situation. Again, this is not a problem to be addressed only by daycare providers; it involves employment personnel practices and other service agency policies.

Ultimately, parents need broad community and national support in order to nurture tomorrow's adults. The degree to which they get this support will help to determine the social and economic realities of the future for society as a whole.

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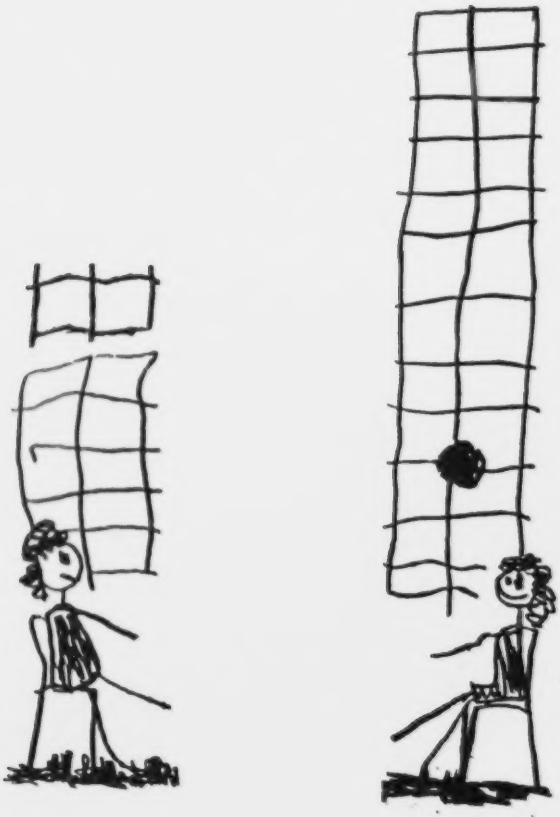
PART III

POLICY AND PROGRAM ISSUES



This section on policy and program issues is not intended to be a comprehensive treatment of the subject. It offers an overview with highlights for the reader who is beginning to learn about child daycare issues and needs basic information on this aspect of the subject. *Day Care: Scientific and Social Policy Issues*, edited by Edward F. Zigler and Edmund W. Gordon, is an excellent comprehensive resource.[1]

Failure to consider and understand some of the most pertinent issues of policy and program can be a major stumbling block to anyone attempting to provide, obtain, or promote child daycare services. Questions of cost and quality interface with options for delivery systems. Regulations, standards, and monitoring stem from perceptions of responsibility. The interaction of parents, providers, and funders has necessitated policy decisions to protect the individual and collective interest of all parties involved.

Child daycare politics are complex and controversial. This should not be surprising in light of the diverse attitudes on parenting and child-rearing in our society. These attitudes, combined with differing perceptions of public and private responsibilities in many other areas of life, help to shape the child daycare issue. The average person's interest in child daycare is more humanitarian than political, and for many who use or provide services, policy considerations may seem irrelevant. However, national commitment to this issue, and therefore individual satisfaction with service, depends on understanding and progress in the policy arena.

Fortunately, current policy development enjoys the benefit of recent research. More research and evaluation are needed and probably always will be. But sufficient research has been done to answer most of the basic policy questions. There is now a need for more demonstration and program development based on research findings.

CHAPTER NINE

THE ECONOMICS OF CHILD DAYCARE

Staff costs in child daycare are increased by the long hours of operation and staggered staff patterns. Most centers are open for at least ten to twelve hours a day, with short or no vacation periods. In addition to the long hours and continuous operation, there is the problem of scheduling staff sick days and annual leave. Salary levels and staff ratio are by far the most critical budget factors, as is reflected in the accompanying chart.

Chart 1
CENTER DAYCARE
Staff-Child Ratios, Wages, and Price of Care*

Staff/Child Ratio		*Caregiver Wage*	*Price of Care/Year*
A.	1:6	$3.60	$2,400
B.	1:10	3.60	1,800
C.	1:10	5.77	2,400
D.	1:6	5.77	3,140
E.	1:8	4.50	2,250

*From E.G. Zigler and E.W. Gordon, *Day Care: Scientific and Social Policy Issues*, Boston, Mass.: Auburn House, 1982. Data from National Day Care Study, extrapolated to 1981 and used only to illustrate critical trade-offs.

Next to staff costs are the costs of space. Fortunately, many non-profit programs are able to secure donated space and sometimes even donated maintenance services. This is one of the factors accounting for their lower cost of service and lower fees. But most programs, particularly for-profit or proprietary programs, are not so fortunate. They must pay rent or purchase space. Capital gains restrictions on

certain publicly funded, non-profit programs prohibit buying buildings even when this might be more economical than rent. Also, major renovations of old buildings can be more expensive than new construction as centers must meet strict fire and safety standards. Child daycare centers have adapted to all types of environments. Few were specifically designed for the purpose. Often there are unexpected or hidden costs in utilizing space that appears to the casual observer to be quite economical when in reality it is very expensive.

Just as all roads once led to Rome, almost all issues regarding child daycare ultimately lead to economics. Cost of care must be measured not only in terms of human benefits but in terms of economic impact for the community as well as for parents. An economic analysis is an essential consideration for planners as well as parents. Most studies have focused on initial cost rather than on long-range benefits, but ample data are available to those who wish to examine this aspect of child daycare.

In general, the data reveal that high-quality child care is very expensive and that adequate care—and even low-quality care—is still quite costly. The information also reveals significant immediate and ongoing pay-offs from good child daycare for the family and for society.

The parent must consider cost in relationship to employment options. The government experiences immediate cost benefits in welfare reductions and tax increases. The community experiences increased consumer activity. The employer is likely to see increased productivity. In the long run there is also a payback to society in terms of reduced remedial and treatment costs associated with poverty and unemployment.

COST OF CARE

Such a wide range of factors enter into cost of care that it is difficult to set a figure with meaning. The lowest cost of center-based care per child is found in non-profit, privately subsidized programs such as community-sponsored centers receiving United Way funds and using a sliding-fee schedule for parents. Next in cost are profit-making programs either individually or corporately owned and operated. The most expensive group care is non-profit, publicly subsidized care. These various types of care range from a low figure of $100 a month to a high figure of $400 per month per child. The most costly programs are usually the most comprehensive and best staffed, and usually serve a younger population. Sometimes high-cost programs may also include a research component or other special services.

It is difficult to compare apples and oranges. A meaningful cost comparison must be made component-by-component and with consideration of the local economy, the exact age mixes of children served, and a variety of other factors. After all cost factors are considered, one stands out as most significant: staffing.

Child daycare is a labor-intensive program. Up to 90 percent of the budget may go for staff salaries and benefits. Seldom does the staff cost go below 75 percent of the total budget. With minimum wage requirements as a base and appropriate credentials as a regulatory requirement, salaries are the major consideration. One of the most frustrating tasks of center operators is attracting and maintaining good staff while keeping the budget balanced and costs affordable.

Programs that have enjoyed the joint status of child development and employment sponsorship have had some advantages. However, the employment dimensions of these programs have required more training and staff support. Sometimes budgets have become more difficult to justify to sponsors with limited interest.

For programs meeting minimum standards for staffing, operating in buildings up to code for their use, and providing adequate programs, the total cost (including donated space and services) seldom falls below $50 per week per child. Less expensive programs are usually benefiting from reduced or free space, volunteer or loaned staff, or other hidden assets. Low-cost programs may also be exploiting their staffs by not paying fair wages, particularly in areas of high unemployment. For programs with fixed personnel rates based on professional standards (i.e. public school or industry-sponsored programs) staff costs can run twice as high as for a community-based program with no professional personnel salary range requirements.

The cost trade-offs inherent in efforts to provide affordable care are graphically illustrated by a true story included in "Janus Faces Day Care, Perspectives on Quality and Cost" by Richard Ruopp and Jeffrey Travers.

> Maryanne, a mother in a two-parent, two-child family, has an opportunity to work and lift family income from its near poverty level of $9,200 per year to $17,000, about 75 percent of the median income for families of four. In order to accept the job, she needs to find daycare for her three-year-old daughter, Joanne, from 8:30 to 5:30 (9 hours). Her seven-year-old son, Steven, will be cared for after school by a neighbor in exchange for some weekend work by Maryanne's husband.
>
> Maryanne and her husband John are both caring parents. They want the best for Joanne. Maryanne is interested in more than just a

babysitting arrangement; she would like her daughter to have an educational experience like her neighbor's four-year-old who is in a local nursery school. A friend at church tells her that a daycare research specialist who knows about day care quality and cost is coming to town to speak. She goes to hear him and afterwards asks him how much she should plan on spending for good care.

"Tell me," he says, "how many other children do you think should be in your child's class? How big a group of kids would be best for her?"

Maryanne thinks a minute and says, "I'd prefer a smaller rather than a bigger group, maybe five or six kids. My daughter is shy, and three-year-olds can be pretty hard on each other."

"O.K.," says the specialist, "now tell me what you think your child's teacher should earn?"

"Well, I want Joanne's teacher to know how to teach Joanne so she'll be ready for school and so she can learn how to get along with other kids and feel good about herself. And I want Joanne to know about art materials and that sort of thing. So I suppose her teacher should have some college training." Maryanne pauses for a moment thinking. "I guess she should get about $6 an hour—that's $240 a week. I'll only get $150 a week, but I'll be a forms clerk and I only have a high school education."

"Fine. Let's see what we've got. A rough rule of thumb is that daycare classroom teachers' wages are about fifty percent of the total center costs. The other half is made up of fringe benefits, wages of other staff—like the director and the cook—meals, space, utilities and so forth. So the classroom you want for your child will cost the center $12 an hour. And you say you want a small group, about six children. That's $12 an hour divided by six, or $2 per child an hour." The specialist could see a dismayed look on the mother's face.

He continued, "At nine hours a day, five days a week and fifty weeks a year—that would bring the total cost to $4500 a year."

"But that's over half my yearly wages—before taxes!" gasped Maryanne. "In fact, John and I just figured out that I will be paying almost $1400 of my income in income tax, which after social security will leave me $5900 to take home. So if I had to pay $4500 for child care, what would I bring home each week?"

The specialist had taken out a pocket calculator. "You'd be eligible for a full daycare tax credit of $400, so you would bring home a net of $35 each week. Another way of saying it is that you would be spending two dollars and fifty cents for child care for every dollar of spendable income you brought home."

"Well, what's the least I could spend on daycare and still have it be all right for Joanne?" Maryanne asked.

"Let's take the question I asked you earlier and turn it around. What's the largest number of three-year-olds you think one adult can handle and still have time for each child?"

"No more than ten," said Maryanne, somewhat grimly.

"And what is the minimum you think the teacher should be paid?" the child care specialist asked.

"No less, and I guess no more, than I'm going to make!"

"All right," said the specialist, calculating. "That means $3.75 an hour times two, divided by ten kids..." He paused, punching in more numbers. "That will bring your take-home pay to about $88 a week. Your investment in daycare is now thirty cents to bring home a dollar of spendable income."

"I don't think I have any choice," said Maryanne sadly. "We aren't making it now. Can I find a good daycare center at that price?"

"You might be able to. Thirty-four dollars a week is somewhat under the average cost of care nationally. You might also find a family daycare mother at that price whom you'd feel good about."[2]

This conversation clearly illuminates the dilemma. Staff ratio and wages are directly tied to both cost and quality.

COST BENEFITS

The most immediate economic benefits of child daycare services are felt by the parent. Finding child care may be a prerequisite for work; it often makes the difference between employment and welfare. Many women on welfare must also work to make ends meet. Those who cannot pay the full cost of child daycare may have to rely on unstable and inadequate arrangements. Even for professional women who can afford to pay the full cost of care, the availability of these services enables them to support or help support their families, but is usually a disproportionately high work-related expense. It is not uncommon for a working mother of a young family to spend up to half of her income on child daycare. Many decide that half a salary is better than none.

Benefits to society as a whole are more difficult to define but are quite tangible. A recent study of the economic impact of subsidized child care in California monitored the effects of daycare on 295 families over a two-and-a-half year period. From the time families entered until they left the program, data showed that:

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- Welfare costs were reduced by almost half.

- Income and sales tax revenues were increased by 63 percent.

- Total parent fees paid increased by 65 percent over the two-and-a-half years of the program.

Over the entire study period:

- The cumulative increase in family income was close to a quarter of a million dollars.

- The monthly average income of each family and the monthly average taxes paid increased in almost direct proportion to the length of time in the program.

- Total public funding was offset by 44.5 percent. Of this, 17.5 percent was from increased taxes, increased parent fees, and decreased welfare costs directly associated with the 295 families. An additional 27.9 percent was attributed to taxes resulting from 64 new jobs found by the families, and taxes paid on the 58 new direct child care services jobs.

In addition, 84 percent of families who were eligible for subsidy on the basis of seeking employment were successful in finding jobs.[3]

The cost benefits of preschool programs serving low-income children "born with the odds against them" are outlined in a report from the Consortium for Longitudinal Studies, *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*, published in 1982. The consortium is a group of investigators who worked independently in the 1960s in various research activities. They pooled their original data and conducted a follow-up of the original subjects of their studies.

The findings present a convincing case for preschool as an excellent investment. The study showed a 400 percent return to society when "present value" benefits were calculated. Returns include reduced costs for education and legal processing for delinquent behavior and increased lifetime earnings for participants. Over time, the returns will be much higher. Specific differences between children with and without preschool are shown in Chart 2. The children involved in the study were all of similar social and economic characteristics. Fifty percent were from welfare families and 47 percent were from single-parent families. The educational level of parents was low.

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The consistent positive effects of the preschool experience measured in hard dollars showed a rate of return higher than the average rate of return on private investment. This type of payoff for society must be kept in focus when considering the investment of public monies in programs that may seem expensive. Cost is a relative issue, and the absence of programs also has a price tag—often a higher one.

It should be noted that these findings relate to the cost effectiveness of "high quality" early childhood programs. This fact reinforces the importance of quality programs and is a justification of their cost.

High/Scope Foundation's Perry Preschool Program was one of the participating programs in the consortium. A publication describing that program gives more information on the study.[4]

Chart 2
Comparison of Children With and Without Preschool Experience

Indicators	*With Preschool*	*With No Preschool*
Arrested by age 19	22%	43%
Employed at age 19	48%	29%
Self-supporting at age 19	45%	24%
Dropout of high school	35%	55%
Attend college or job training courses	38%	21%
Placed in special education or retained a grade	32%	53%

*From *High Scope Research* by Laurence J. Schweinhart and David Weikart.

COST AND POLICY

It is difficult to separate policy and cost issues when reviewing the role of government in child daycare. There have been two occasions in our history when economics did not seem to dominate policy decisions: World War II and the War on Poverty. During these two periods,

decisions about program structure and goals were made by educators, doctors, psychologists, and social scientists. The needs of the child and the family were primary, and budgets were shaped to meet those needs. However, as the short-lived prosperity of the late 1960s and early 1970s gave way to a prolonged recession, the emphasis increasingly was placed on costs. The Office of Management and Budget began to play a larger role in defining program policy.

The saga of the Federal Interagency Requirements for Day Care is a study in the politics of economics. The present departure from emphasis on standards is the result of the priority given immediate economic recovery over consideration of long-range fiscal or human benefits. There is a great deal of false economy in the present dilemma, but some valuable lessons have been learned. Publicly funded child daycare probably has less budget "fat" than any other public service. Providers have been innovative in maximizing service with constantly dwindling funds. Perhaps as the financial crunch eases, there will be a new sophistication in providing cost-effective programs. However, the labor-intensive nature of child daycare creates a bottom line below which programs simply become inadequate. And inadequate is unacceptable when the lives of young children are involved.

The present lack of national policy on child daycare is basically an economic issue. Since children do not vote and the parents who use daycare are among the least powerful in our society, the budget crunch has had a disproportionate impact on children. Not only child daycare but a wide range of health and developmental services, particularly for poor children, have been sacrificed in an attempt to balance the budget. The Children's Defense Fund, a national child advocacy organization located in Washington, D.C., has tracked the dismantling of federally funded programs for children and made comparisons to budget items not cut.

Most Americans, including child advocates, appreciate the need to reduce federal spending. But in cutting costs, priorities must be set, and children, especially poor children, are clearly not a present priority. The costs of neglecting the needs of children will be felt in the future, and they may be much greater than the amount saved by spending reductions now.

There is a need not only for government support, but for a joint venture involving parents, employers, private community institutions, and government. Will the American public choose to protect and nurture its children? According to the Children's Defense Fund, while funds for childhood immunizations are being cut, the Defense Department continues to spend $1.4 million on veterinary services for the pets of military personnel. These funds would purchase

immunization for 35,000 low-income children.[5] It is time to re-examine our priorities and, even while reducing federal spending, to direct available monies to critically needed services such as developmental care for the nation's future citizens.

CHAPTER TEN

REGULATIONS AND STANDARDS

Who should set standards for child daycare services? What should they be? Who should monitor programs to make sure that standards are met? The debate over daycare regulations has a long and complex history. Until 1965 responsibility for child care regulations rested with states. In most states licensing laws were well established and covered all privately operated child daycare, although little thought was given to family daycare. In the late 1960s federal funds became more available and there was a movement to develop standards and regulations related to those funding sources. However, a federal system was never fully implemented, and today authority is back in the hands of the states. The issue of regulation is still in flux.

There is no doubt that regulations and standards for child daycare are closely related to economic issues. This aspect was discussed earlier in the section on the economics of child daycare. However, there are dimensions of this issue beyond cost considerations. Who should regulate? How? Why? These questions are still being debated.

In the present trend toward less government, there has been a relaxing of the federal role in favor of a stronger state role in funding policy. When Title XX funds of the Social Security Act were folded into the Social Services Block Grant, states assumed authority for every aspect of federally funded human services administration and delivery. The controversial Federal Interagency Day Care Requirements have largely been abandoned. There has been a relaxing of funding standards and a closing of the gap between requirements for publicly funded and private programs. As would be expected, there is a great deal of variation from state to state on the content and procedures of standards for both licensing and funding purposes as well as monitoring.

Standards have always presented a problem, as it is difficult to reduce program quality to a set of rules. Yet certain basic requirements are necessary for the protection of children in spite of the fact that uniformly administered standards tend to limit creative problem solving.

Most state licensing and monitoring arms of state and local governments assume a posture of assistance and support rather than

emphasizing their policing role. But they are typically understaffed and often can address only blatant violations. Technical assistance to help providers meet standards is offered in most states, but state capabilities in this area have been declining as budgets have tightened.

The stormy history of federal regulation has left a legacy of content and process to help states develop better systems of regulating child daycare. Essentially, the purposes of regulations are to protect the child and to promote quality programming. There will always be a fine line between appropriate levels of public monitoring and undue interference with the rights of providers to develop and run their programs.

Over the past fifteen years, national leadership on this issue has repeatedly advocated more parent participation in the process, but to date little progress has been made. Parent participation is a key sub-issue of monitoring. Where meaningful consumer (i.e., parent) involvement has been incorporated into the regulatory process, the results have been positive. In order for parents to participate, they must be trained and supported in their role. This approach requires rethinking and reorganizing a process that is usually too strained to entertain that type of change.

The issue of regulating, like several other policy issues, reflects perceptions of ownership both of program authorization and of children themselves. Our society sees parents as the primary agents responsible for children, but there is also a collective responsibility for all children by society as a whole. Balancing those realities calls for constant collaboration between parents and the many representatives of delegated authorities.

Since states are in the driver's seat today in establishing regulatory standards and monitoring procedures for child daycare, it is of increased importance for parents as well as providers of care and other interested citizens to become involved in shaping state policy. This can be done through the influence of statewide child development councils and advocacy groups.

As stated earlier, standards have often been tied to economics. It is important for reviewers of standards to keep in mind that poor quality child daycare is expensive as well as potentially harmful. When consensus on the content and enforcement of standards is reached by consumers, providers, and funders, there is a climate for meaningful regulation. Cost can be weighed in the context of overall goals of service delivery.

No decision on regulations can afford to be stagnant; frequent review and revision are inherent in the concept. There is an ongoing need to evaluate appropriateness and effectiveness. For this reason there is value in utilizing or establishing long-lived groups to deal with the issue

of child daycare regulations at the state level. A special advisory group convened for the task of review and recommendations on standards and then dismantled after the initial work is not as effective as an ongoing body established for such purposes.

Where states have child development advisory councils representing parents, service providers, and interested citizens, there is an opportunity for a special subcommittee or task force to systematically guide a long-range regulatory approach to improving service quality. Advocates who involve themselves in this aspect of policy development should be prepared for a difficult challenge. Some of the nation's most capable leadership struggled for years in abortive efforts to achieve a working system of federal regulation. However, if responsible services are to be developed and maintained, there has to be an accompanying set of standards and system of regulation appropriate to the type of service rendered.

Ultimately, there is a need for renewed debate and resolution at the federal level. But, that is not likely to happen in the present political climate. Meanwhile, local actions by parent, provider, or funder coalitions can go forward and perhaps establish new models for broader application later.

In addition to group action at the state level through mechanisms such as advisory councils, parents can take individual action via the traditional route of buying power. Individual parents and groups of parents can "regulate" service by becoming informed and setting appropriate expectations. By articulating their concerns and needs to providers and funders they can have an increased voice in shaping the quality of the services they choose. This approach calls for parent education and involvement in both formal and informal interaction with the policy-making and delivery agents of the child daycare system. Where comprehensive information and referral mechanisms are in place, this type of participation is facilitated. Yet no system can insure that such partnerships occur. No one can mandate the type of parent, provider, funder interaction desirable. Effectiveness will reflect local realities and values. Yet a regulatory system can emerge only from an informed constituency reinforcing appropriate standards based on mutual values and common purposes.

An emerging influence on the issue of standards and regulations for child daycare may be found in business and industry. As industry sponsorship increases, there will be a slightly different role for parents as employees. Business and industry, with a keen perception of liabilty and accountability, will view standards in a different light. The potential for positive contributions to the regulatory process by business and industry is yet to be felt. Clearly, it is important for

parents/employees and child advocates to keep the issue of quality and its relationship to standards in mind as they seek industry support.

In considering this controversial subject of regulations, it is important to distinguish between the concept of funding regulations and overarching standards and regulatory processes for all child daycare programs. Confusion on this point has been detrimental to progress in the past. Essentially, the most appropriate rationale for child daycare regulations is consumer protection. This perspective fosters a logical system which could be appropriately augmented by special funding requirements.

Those who are exploring sponsorship or use of child daycare services should contact the regulatory authority in their state. It is usually easy to identify under state government listings and is usually a part of the human services administration section. This office can clarify requirements and procedures which will no doubt include local health and safety inspections as well as approvals by the state staff.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE DELIVERY SYSTEM

In addition to issues of economics, important policy considerations will help to define options for the delivery of child daycare services. For example, who should sponsor programs? How do parents gain access to services? How can the system be organized to create the most efficient and effective service delivery? How can public and private systems be combined?

Answers to these questions will vary from one community to the next. Government prescribes certain aspects of any system using public funds, but policy decisions on this aspect of child daycare involve a large cast of characters. Not only government but private organizations generate policy decisions affecting the nature of the delivery system. Local programs and parents reinforce, reject, modify, manipulate, or in other ways interact with the policy process to determine the final outcome. Actually, the outcome is rarely final; it keeps changing as perceptions and situations change.

Some highlights of policy issues relevant to the delivery system are presented here. The information cannot be complete as rapidly shifting funding situations are constantly altering trends in delivery system design.

COORDINATION

Today, as always, there are a few outstanding efforts to coordinate child daycare services. The few surviving Community Coordinated Child Care (4C) programs and California's information and referral programs are among these. But nationally there is no meaningful coordination mechanism to assure comprehensive planning, generate funds, and eliminate service duplication. Information and referral, technical assistance, and staff training systems require sophisticated coordination.

In the early 1970s, in recognition of this need, Community Coordinated Child Care projects were initiated across the nation. Selected cities were given federal "seed money" grants of about $10,000 to develop coordination mechanisms. These grants were accompanied

by rigorous and specific guidelines for becoming a "recognized 4C program." This flurry of activity was in anticipation of major federal child development legislation, which did not materialize. The role of 4Cs became critical as communities struggled to initiate and maintain programs with decreasing rather than increasing federal support. In spite of the importance of the concept and the effectiveness of the effort, many 4C programs vanished as monies became scarce and were funneled into direct service delivery rather than coordination and support systems. Where state or local government supported the 4C concept, programs survived. Some were replaced by information and referral systems which were less threatening, as "coordination" sounded too much like "control" to some. A few 4Cs exist today with model coordination programs and a fascinating survival history.

It is no coincidence that communities which have coped best with funding crises are usually those with strong coordinating bodies. One good example is found in Florida where, with the consistent and able leadership of Phoebe Carpenter, Community Coordinated Child Care of Central Florida has developed and maintained comprehensive child daycare coordination for over ten years. This program includes a purchase system which has been successful in combining funds from a variety of sources to purchase care at various costs for eligible parents from all types of program sponsors. 4C of Central Florida also operates a coordinated support system, including staff training, technical assistance, and information and referral. This system maximizes parent choices and supports providers in making improvements. There are other exemplary coordination efforts. Some wear the 4C label and others have unique local names and a wide range of functions in addition to coordination.

Good coordination is the exception rather than the rule. Usually providers are loosely affiliated and unconnected as a group to other community agencies. They experience constant frustration as they operate over-extended programs without needed community understanding and support.

Ultimately, solving the child daycare crisis must involve a commitment to a comprehensive but flexible and diverse national delivery system expressed locally in response to specific needs. It must include orderly short-range and long-range planning and evaluation. At a minimum it must provide coordination of existing services, stimulate new services, and orchestrate support systems for staff and parents. A good delivery system must be accessible to all who interact with it, including providers, parents, funders, and related community organizations.

Some of the stumbling blocks to a good delivery system are found in

administrative guidelines which are usually designed to assure accountability but result in the economic segregation of families and excessive red tape. It is possible but difficult to preserve innovation and flexibility while assuring accountability.

Fortunately, the experience and basic ingredients exist in most communities to develop adequate delivery systems. It takes multi-level commitment and cooperation. Most of all it takes an acknowledgment of the importance of the coordination and support role in the face of economic pressure on all fronts. Examination of this issue reveals that those communities that value and support the engineers and maintenance crew of the delivery system have been able to expand services or have suffered less program loss with the recession and federal cuts.

SPONSORSHIP

One of the important debates of the mid-1970s among child daycare advocates was the issue of prime sponsorship. Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers, proposed that the public schools become the prime sponsor of a national network of child daycare programs. This position was vigorously challenged by Ted Taylor, Executive Director of the Day Care and Child Development Council of America. The debate continued for several years and was a major factor in attempting to shape federal legislation.

One of the results of this debate was a mobilization of diverse providers in a coalition to protect the principle of diverse sponsorship in the delivery of child daycare services. No doubt economics and "turf" protection played a role in this debate on both sides. However, it illuminated some basic principles in delivery system design. The debate collapsed in the absence of funding but is likely to re-emerge should there be immediate prospects of significant financing for these services.

Diversity in the present delivery system has been maintained and promises to increase as communities respond to the rising demand. At this time there is a mix of public and private, profit and non-profit service providers. There are child daycare programs under sponsorship of parents, community organizations, businesses, public schools, government agencies, labor unions, and churches. Most child advocates agree that any individual or organization that can provide adequate, affordable child daycare is welcome to get in on the act. Even the controversy of profit versus non-profit has subsided as interest shifts to results rather than program charters.

Many community organizations still fear domination of the delivery system by the public schools. But in reality the schools have

demonstrated increasing support of community sponsorship and have decreased rather than expanded their own role due to economic problems and a "season of the school of hard knocks" of child daycare delivery.

ACCESS

The issue of parent access to the delivery system takes many forms. The one most familiar is the parent who hears of a program through a friend, takes her child to the center or home, enrolls the child, and pays a weekly fee. When the parent is purchasing at full fee from an independent, proprietary program, this simple theme is access.

However, matters get much more complicated when someone is subsidizing the cost either publicly or privately. Eligibility becomes an issue and a system of determining and monitoring that eligibility comes into play.

ELIGIBILITY

With a few exceptions, eligibility for reduced-cost services is determined by family income guidelines. With publicly funded programs these guidelines tend to tighten when funds are scarce as a method of "reduction management." However, there are far more parents who really cannot afford to pay the full cost of care than there are reduced-cost slots. Therefore, other considerations are added to determine who is most in need, including number of children in the family, ages of children, marital and employment status of parents, ethnic origin, geographic location, handicaps of parent or child, and former or potential dependency on welfare.

Interpreting eligibility criteria may consist of an overlay of federal definitions, state definitions, and local sponsor priorities, along with individual local commitments and capabilities. This can be a nightmare for the staff responsible for intake. There may be a long waiting list of anxious parents. It is not unusual for programs to have waiting lists of hundreds of children. In 1979 at a U.S. Senate hearing, witnesses reported a combined waiting list of 1,600 children for only 12 available slots in San Francisco and 3,000 children on a waiting list in Newark, New Jersey.[6]

These are not isolated situations. Such shortages exist everywhere in the United States. For instance, the Children's Center in the Hayward School District of California reported a waiting list of 400 children for its after-school program and the Empire State Day Care Services of New York reported a waiting list of 300 infants for 18 slots. In light of

these shortages, it is no wonder that eligibility has become such a complex and difficult issue. Head Start, which has some of the most restrictive and carefully monitored eligibility criteria of all publicly funded programs, serves only one out of five eligible children.

Understandably, the parent who is subjected to the "acid test" of eligibility may be offended, frustrated, or outraged, particularly when turned away or dropped from the program because her desperate situation is not quite bad enough to meet the guidelines. The eligibility issue is important in the private sector even when public funds are not involved. Scholarships and reduced fees based on donations and contributions also present difficult decisions.

Issues of confidentiality may arise in connection with access. Parents are required to reveal personal information to programs staffed by neighbors and friends. It is a difficult situation for everyone involved.

INFORMATION

Another issue of access is bound up in information and referral, which was discussed earlier as an important component of service delivery. Access depends on a parent's knowledge of available service. With shortages of service, complex eligibility guidelines, and program differences, it is no wonder that parents need help in finding services. Where good information and referral programs exist, this aspect of access is simplified.

California is fortunate in having a network of state-supported information and referral resources. Hopefully, support for this service will continue and other states will see the wisdom of this investment. There is also increasing interest on the part of business and industry in this aspect of the system. Information and referral systems not only benefit parents but provide an important service to providers and valuable data for planning and evaluation.

PAYMENT PLANS

For parents purchasing care with private funds, the payment plan is quite simple. The only issue may be that of cash or check and due date. For the subsidized program, payment plans are not so straightforward. How and when do parents pay their part of the fee? Exactly how much do they pay? How often is the fee reassessed? How does the program secure the public supplement?

Most programs receive reimbursements from public or private sources based on attendance records. Fees are usually paid in advance.

Financial accountability, including audits, apply to both subsidy funds and parent fees. Detailed records must be kept.

If several sources of subsidy are involved, each source requires separate records and uses its own process. It is not unusual for programs to operate with a wide range of monies, including federal funds (usually secured through the state), local public funds, local private monies (such as from United Way), individual contributions, special grants, and parent fees. The intake and expenditure of these diverse funds can be an accounting nightmare. Some programs have become so frustrated by the complexity of multiple funding that they have given up resources in exchange for peace of mind.

Payment plan policy for most public funds is set at the state level and varies widely. Private contract payment plans are usually more flexible but can still be quite complex and follow many different patterns according to the particular local, private institution.

Programs operated by school systems have unique problems in trying to coordinate funds. They experience both policy and accounting problems in integrating parent fees with other sources of funds.

This aspect of the delivery system is in need of extensive review and improvement. A few efforts have been made to use some form of voucher system as a way of simplifying the accounting red tape. However, this introduces other issues and can be successful only when there is commitment to the concept by all levels of policy and administration. The concept does have merit and could offer solutions. Computer technology offers new options in the design of payment plans and accounting controls. Child daycare operations need assistance in this area.

PARENT PREFERENCES

In the dialogue on child daycare, parents play a key role, but are not necessarily the moving force of program development. Usually the circumstances creating their need for child daycare contribute to an inability to be as involved as they would like to be or should be. A young mother providing the sole financial support for herself and her children may be more desperate than innovative, more reactor than initiator. There are certainly exceptions. The degree to which parents are involved in planning for and supporting child daycare programs is usually a good indicator of program effectiveness.

Major surveys of parent opinion and preferences have been few and far between. A significant study conducted in 1978 by *Family Circle* revealed widespread dissatisfaction with unstable arrangements; 30 percent of those surveyed had had to change child care arrangements in

the past two years because the care was undependable and of poor quality. The study also reported that parents frequently allow their school-age children under age 13 to stay home alone after school because they had no other choice. In 1976 the National Child Care Consumer Study was completed with federal funds. It did not address issues of parent preference in as much depth, nor did it concentrate as tightly on the issue of employment-related child daycare.

A comparison of these two studies suggests that over the past decade the American public has been developing an appreciation for the potential if not actual merit of center-based group care. This no doubt reflects dissatisfaction with the instability of informal arrangements. It probably also reflects the positive impact of developmental child care made possible by federally funded centers. Although the federally funded services operated under strict guidelines limiting service to the economically disadvantaged, they have become visible in the community. Community leaders became involved in advocacy and policy activities. Volunteer groups participated. Local polititians became informed. In general the community became aware of the effectiveness of good programs.

A quality of service emerged in contrast to the bleak picture painted by Mary Keyserling in the book, *Windows on Day Care.*[7] This is not to say that inferior and damaging daycare centers no longer exist. Unfortunately, horror stories can still be found. But, a new standard emerged. Programs were made available to those in greatest need of assistance and were observed by families who were not eligible to use the services but who were nevertheless educated about the merits of quality child daycare centers. Not only have working mothers become more convinced of the merits of center-based care, but the general public seems to be placing greater emphasis on preschool education. According to Kamerman and Kahn, nursery school enrollment has been steadily increasing for the children of both working and non-working mothers.[8]

Families vary. Children differ. Communities are not all the same. There will always be a need for diverse options in meeting care needs. However, it is clear that if parents get their way, there will be more high-quality, center-based care. This form of service has become the number one choice of working parents, even of parents who could afford to purchase in-home care. Apparently, parents have rejected the notion that group settings are hazardous to their children and have decided that a wider range of experience and support can be found in well-run daycare centers than in informal arrangements.

The class bias of daycare also is breaking down. Some of the more successful programs work hard to maintain an economic mix of

families. They recognize that the developmental needs of most children are more similar than different regardless of economic and cultural backgrounds. The differences may provide an opportunity for special focus or unique exchange, but the need for an environment supporting healthy growth and development is common to all children.

Whereas parent opinion overall has been shifting towards centers, many still prefer family daycare settings or in-home arrangements. Quality care can be offered in all of these settings. The ideal community would have a network or delivery service that offers a combination of child daycare centers (both in neighborhoods and at work sites), family daycare homes, and in-home services. Special provisions would be available for sick children and for the handicapped. There would be access to service by all who need it with fees based on ability to pay. In a few areas this type of delivery system has been initiated. It may not be perfect, but progress towards the ideal is visible. Berkeley, California, is a good example of a community with a comprehensive system. Unfortunately, such progress is the exception rather than the rule. Where it exists, it is in constant threat of weakening due to federal, state, and local budget problems as well as family budget strains and increasing demands on private contributors.

Parents want choices as they seek assistance with their child care needs. Increasingly, they are choosing developmental, center-based care. Unfortunately, this option is now available to less than 10 percent of those who need it, and parents are using any type of service they can find. Practice is based more on availability than on choice. Many working mothers and their children are caught up in a vicious cycle of unreliable, make-shift arrangements. The resulting frustration takes a heavy toll on everyone.

PREVENTION VERSUS TREATMENT

This debate is central to the issue of access and eligiblity. Who needs service most? The already dependent parent or the parent trying to maintain independence? Most child daycare eligibility criteria, like other human services criteria, are more treatment- than prevention-oriented.

Gwen Morgan, a seasoned champion of child daycare services, tells of three families in need of service. The first family is composed of a single-parent mother with three young children on welfare. She is seeking child daycare in order to supplement her welfare payment and to eventually become self-sufficient. The second family is composed of a young married woman with an absent husband who is trying to work and care for two children while coping with her failing marriage. She is

seeking child daycare. The third family is composed of a young couple with one child. They are having financial problems and the mother is seeking child daycare so that she can work and supplement the family income to relieve the strain.

In our present system only the first family would be eligible for publicly subsidized daycare services. This family meets the basic criteria of programs funded by Title XX of the Social Security Act, now a part of the Social Services Block Grant to states. However, the punch line of the story is the fact that these three examples are all the same family at three different time periods.

The present shortage of services with the accompanying rigid guidelines tends to create a Catch-22 situation. When family earnings rise to a level that prevents eligibility for reduced-cost services, the cost of care or lack of available alternatives can force the family back into a dependent financial status.

CHAPTER TWELVE

RESEARCH

CHILD DEVELOPMENT THEORY

One of the reasons that center-based child daycare has lagged in this country is the concern that group care for young children might be harmful to their growth and development. This fear has long been expressed and still surfaces today. It stems from early research conducted on institutionalized children in residential facilities who received little individual attention. The projection of this research on child daycare was inappropriate. Nevertheless, it was reinforced by the problems of inadequate and overcrowded daycare centers and by a public attitude that favored the full-time housewife over the working mother.

Research in the 1960s, 1970s, and early 1980s documented quite clearly that children participating in adequate child daycare settings do not differ significantly in their development from children in favorable home settings. For children from economically disadvantaged homes, group preschool experiences such as Head Start proved to be of significant value in promoting healthy development. Gradually, both the professional leadership and the general public have come to accept adequate child daycare centers as an appropriate supplement to maternal care.

THE NATIONAL DAY CARE STUDY

Once beyond the hurdle of defending the existence of group care, researchers were able to address sub-issues and to clarify ways in which programs could support and promote healthy child development. The most significant study in recent years was the four-year federally funded National Day Care Study conducted by Abt Associates, whose findings were published in 1979.[9] This study addressed a wide range of program factors and has been used extensively to define standards and to foster program improvements. Two of the most significant findings related to the issues of group size and staff training. In summary, the study revealed that smaller group size is a more important factor than

child/staff ratio in determining program effectiveness. (In other words, if the group size is too large, you cannot improve it by adding more staff.) Also, specific staff training for early childhood care makes for better results than higher levels of general education. It is not the number of years of formal education or the number of degrees that counts. It is the relevance of the education and its specific application to child care settings. Caregivers with early childhood training specifically designed for their jobs proved to be more effective workers with children than teachers with higher levels of unrelated educational background.

These two findings have cost implications which fortunately are on the side of economy. Unfortunately, they have been exaggerated to justify disproportionate relaxing of standards in some instances. Assuming the validity of these two findings, there is now need for more program demonstration on effective group structure and more emphasis on specialized pre-service and in-service staff training.

INFANT CARE

Almost all policy, research, and economic issues regarding child daycare must be defined separately for infant care. Many programs attempt to integrate infants into center-based services. Some have preferred the use of family daycare homes for infants, and many simply do not feel that they can handle infants' needs and eliminate them from the program altogether. For those programs that include infant service, many additional considerations are essential.

In spite of the problems associated with infant care, there is an acute need for the service and the demand is sharply rising. In fact, the most rapidly increasing group of women in the labor force consists of mothers with very young children. All of the factors associated with the rising need for child daycare services are particularly acute for the working mother of an infant.

Economic pressures, particularly for single-parent families or families that depend on two incomes to make ends meet, are pressing more and more mothers of infants into continued or initial employment. Staying at home with the baby is no longer an option for many, and the absence of extended family for support has increased the demand for infant daycare. Many new mothers become family daycare operators as a way to stay at home during this period.

Center-based infant care poses certain advantages and disadvantages as does family daycare or in-home care. Research on this subject is complex and inconclusive. However, sufficient studies have been

conducted to demonstrate that good infant care can be provided in a variety of settings, including daycare centers.[10]

Since the developmental needs of infants require highly individualized attention and consistent care-giving, there is a need for a higher staff/child ratio in infant programs. The proper ratio has been the subject of much debate. Opinions range from a high of one staff to every two infants to a low of one staff to five infants. This factor alone can double or triple the cost of infant care over older preschool child care service.

All aspects of child care, including health protections, take on added dimensions for infants. Unfortunately, many programs fall short of adequate health care components. Obviously, this highly vulnerable population demands special considerations in every way. Also, staff working with children are exposed to health hazards. Health protection in child daycare is important to the general community.

One of the significant research findings has been related to the issue of infant attachment.[11] The ability to form and maintain human bonding is not necessarily jeopardized by group care. The damaging effect on emotional development found in institutional settings where infants receive little holding and personal attention simply does not apply equally to child daycare centers. To the contrary, quality programs have demonstrated equal or superior development of infants in group settings. However, most of the infant care research has been conducted in high-quality programs, mostly in university settings. The Abt study also emphasized the critical importance of staff/child ratio in infant care.

It is generally accepted that poor-quality care for infants is potentially damaging to their development. For this reason providers who include infant care in their range of services have a special obligation to be informed on every aspect of the specialized needs of infants. A number of excellent publications are available on this subject. However, no prescription for infant care is available and the prerequisite is commitment, concern, and consistency in a highly individualized service.

Infant care carries with it a higher demand for parent involvement, support, and cooperation. Becoming a parent is a major life change with a high level of associated stress. For the typical user of daycare the stressors may be higher than average as economic problems are usually acute. For a growing number, parenthood is an experience of the teenage years. Mothers of infants who must rely on others for assistance in their child-caring responsibilities often feel especially guilty or inadequate as mothers.

Infant care is demanding and costly. However, it is a critically needed

service today. Fortunately, it is possible to meet the needs of infants along with other preschoolers when there is the commitment and when resources are adequate.

THE ISSUE OF QUALITY

In a discussion of child daycare, most advocates have learned to avoid the use of the word "quality." The word has become such a problem that it tends to create more confusion than enlightenment. In 1972 a state conference of the National Association of Social Workers included a panel entitled "Quality versus Quantity Day Care." The debate produced more agreement than disagreement and quickly shifted to issues of word definition rather than content.

Advocates of quality usually are not talking about program frills. Advocates of quantity are not calling for custodial services. No one seems to have coined the exact word.

When quality definitions are aired they tend to obscure issues of accessibility and availability. Yet, David Weikert, President of High/Scope Foundation, has called quality the "premiere problem facing early childhood education . . . without quality programs, children will fail to gain the opportunity for long-range success that early childhood education should offer." Most would agree with this statement, but it is easier to agree with the principle than to define the word. Perhaps this reflects in part the differences in language familiar to parents, educators, and politicians.

Research such as the National Day Care Study, combined with studies by High/Scope and other firms and demonstration programs like the Yale Child Welfare Research Program, provide ample data to give content to the word "quality." The Federal Day Care Standards were an effort to define the word in practical and applicable terms.

Based on the Perry Preschool Project and Consortium studies discussed earlier, High/Scope Foundation suggests that an early childhood program of high quality has the following characteristics:

- It is well managed and monitored.
- Parents become partners with teachers in educating the child.
- Competent, committed teachers or caregivers plan and work together in teams to provide mutual support and individual attention to children.

- The program is organized around a specific curriculum or set of principles for learning.

- Teachers or caregivers are trained in the curriculum through ongoing in-service training.

- The program is regularly assessed to assure that goals for high quality are being met.

There are a variety of options for quality program models. The information base is extensive and sound. From a research point of view, the goal of quality care for all who need it is achievable. Again, the key factor is cost. Essentially there is a cost versus quality issue. If price were no problem, developing quality programs would be far less difficult.

If suddenly unlimited funds were available, however, all problems would not vanish. Staff development and support systems would take time to develop. Unresolved policy issues would still need to be addressed. But the capability is there. A combination of regulation and commitment backed by dollars could produce quality programs.

Reality is far from that situation. Constant trade-offs are made in virtually all programs based on cost factors. This is not to say that quality programs are non-existent; to the contrary, there are many excellent programs. However, dwelling on the issue of quality has proven to be unproductive in attempting to resolve the child daycare dilemma.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

POLICY BOARDS

Usually we think of key policy-makers in terms of elected officials. Public policy is defined by Congress in direct interaction with the White House, but that is not the full story. Policy in child daycare reflects government and social processes with grass-roots tentacles. Public opinion is reflected in the votes of politicians.

In a sense, public opinion creates legislation and legislation defines policy. However, national policy definitions are played out at the local level with strong influence by a local cast of characters. One of the important roles is played by members of the local program's board of directors or advisors. These boards, which go by various labels according to local tradition and law, interpret, implement, and alter policy positions.

Federal guidelines have usually required at least 50 percent parent participation on policy-making boards of programs serving children with public monies. However, multi-service sponsors with established boards have often used advisory structures to meet this requirement. Large community service agencies and churches that sponsor a wide range of programs, usually have several layers of policy-makers. Regents, trustees, directors, officers, and others interact with parent groups and staff to hammer out local applications of policy.

The board of directors of a child daycare operation is legally responsible for that program. The corporate structure of a child daycare center has the same liabilities as any other corporation of the same type. Officers and board members will need legal advice for organizational and ongoing management of the corporate structure.

Where public funds are utilized, it is the board of directors that is ultimately held accountable for use according to guidelines and contract conditions. Liabilities for the safety of children and staff rest with the board, along with ultimate responsibility for program management and administration. Whereas it may well be an honor to be a board member, it is also a serious responsibility. Board members usually need education and support to perform their duties well.

An active and committed board can play a key role in developing policy locally, statewide, and nationally in support of quality child

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daycare programs. Board members need information not only on their own program operations, but on the research and program issues common to related programs. Board development is a challenge requiring a special type of support and expertise.

Issues of power and authority can arise when the roles of policy boards, parents, and staff are poorly defined.

Successful programs usually have strong, active policy boards. Positive changes in national policy will occur when there are local units that are informed, committed, and connected to the larger policy process.

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CHAPTER FOURTEEN

A WORLD VIEW

Around the world, child care services have evolved in a variety of patterns. This book deals with the situation in the United States, but there are connecting links between the needs and problems of American families and families of the world. Nations can learn much from one another on this subject. As the world shrinks due to increased common concerns, perhaps nations will find meaningful ways to cooperate in meeting the needs of the children of tomorrow.

As a leader of nations, our country could initiate global expressions of child advocacy, but in this important area the United States is not and has never been in a position of world leadership. Bella Abzug's response to the veto by President Nixon of a comprehensive child care bill included in part: "We are terrorized that [other countries] might beat us in building a supersonic transport—but when it comes to child care, that's something else again. You know and I know that we are the richest nation in the world, that we need these services desperately, and that we have the capacity to pay for them if we only would."

The United States has lagged behind other nations in acknowledging and dealing with the child care dilemma of working mothers. Prior to the depression of the 1930s, the United States was the only industrialized nation without some form of government support for child daycare services. A number of other countries have comprehensive systems which enjoy national priority. From Cuba and Scandinavia to Israel and China there are highly developed model programs.

Child care needs in this nation are similar to, but also different from, those of other countries, and our national efforts should be appropriately different from approaches taken in other parts of the world. However, this area deserves international study not only because of its impact on child development, but because of economic and productivity issues affecting this nation and the world.

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PART IV

SEEKING SOLUTIONS

There was a time when child advocates looked to the federal government to meet child daycare needs. The role of the federal government is still an important one, but it is clear that government will not solve the problem alone. Communities with high levels of adequate service and comprehensive support systems have mobilized all levels and kinds of support—local business and industry, community service organizations, volunteer agencies, parents and concerned citizens, and federal, state, and local governments. Also, they usually have enjoyed consistent leadership and have achieved a continuity that has been able to survive fluctuating levels of funding.

Every community is different. The mixture of resources available and local needs will generate delivery systems with characteristics unique to a given situation. There is no blueprint, no absolute model for replication.

Some communities have developed strong united administrative structures, while others have chosen to coordinate a range of independent service units. Rural and urban areas often have different types of problems and options.

Finding solutions requires local assessment and development consistent with local realities. Solutions will reflect unique mixes of resources and will never be permanent. Today's solution to a problem may even create an unanticipated new problem in the future. Only change is certain. A good delivery system will adjust and readjust as new opportunities surface and as evaluation suggests better ways.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

STRENGTHENING EXISTING SERVICES

As a group, child daycare providers are among our more committed and innovative citizens. They manage to keep the doors open with chronic cash flow problems and daily operational crises. Their dedication is commendable. Usually, child daycare operators, both public and private, profit and non-profit, are involved in the daycare business because they enjoy children and want to play a meaningful role in the community. Of course there are exceptions. Some programs, both for-profit and non-profit, are deplorable. This field, like many other human services, has its tragedies which occasionally make the press. More often there is a silent exploitation of children and their families. Parents may be aware of problems but feel trapped into choosing the lesser of two evils.

Few if any programs can boast of perfection. There is always room for improvement. Money is usually a part of the problem, and it may be the major problem. But there are some low-cost or no-cost ways to strengthen existing services. In some cases the costs of improvement may be assumed by another supporting system or organization.

STAFF TRAINING

Probably the single most important factor in determining program quality is staff development and training. As noted earlier, it is not the amount of education but the type of training that matters. Training specifically designed to develop child care skills is far more effective than larger doses of general education. Staff working with children need assistance in building skills to address the needs of the total child.

It is not unusual for teachers with training for secondary or higher education to shift into preschool settings. In the past this has presented some problems, especially where the result has been a climate dominated by emphasis on academic skills. Cognitive development is certainly an important aspect of preschool education, but in child

daycare this must also be balanced with emotional and physical development in keeping with the needs of young children.

Young children learn a great deal by modeling, and staff must learn to teach by behavior as well as words. Also, the health needs of young children, especially infants, demand skills approaching those of practical nursing. In child daycare, education takes many forms. Diapering is an opportunity for an infant's experience of emotional, physical, and cognitive development. Staff training must be practical, relevant, and appropriate to the special demands of child daycare.

The Child Development Associate (CDA) concept has made a significant contribution in this area. This is a training and credentialing program designed specifically for early childhood development staff. It is a competency-based program with a unique system of evaluating training needs and individual staff progress in acquiring necessary skills. Initially, the CDA concept was designed for use in a broad spectrum of programs. It was closely tied to anticipation of federal standards for daycare. However, realities of funding linked it specifically to Head Start, where it has become a primary training resource and standard.

The CDA is unique in that it provides a system whereby staff can be credited with acquired skills upon entering the program and can systematically gain new ones in an individually tailored plan. The credential is honored among those programs using the system so that it constitutes a career development plan with transferability from one community to another. Unfortunately, resources for this program do not make it readily available to all who need it.

Along with the CDA concept, a large battery of preschool training curricula has been under development in university and demonstration program settings. These efforts have been packaged in various forms and have become the basis of many good training programs in community colleges and technical schools across the country. In most communities there is a potential or actual resource for child daycare staff training. There is seldom a direct cost to participating child care programs, and tuition for staff is usually affordable. Many educational institutions hold sessions on site and provide coordinating personnel for pre-service and in-service training. However, this type of interaction requires local coordination. It is difficult for individual employees or for small programs to develop their own training resources.

A local Child Development Training Consortium or its equivalent can aid development of resources and programs. Participants may include not only traditional educational institutions but interest groups such as mental health centers, arts councils, and others.

Staff training is a key factor in strengthening existing services. It is an

area that has been supported by a number of government agencies, including the Department of Labor. There is a need to build on current experience and commitments and to expand options for people employed or seeking work in child daycare settings.

CURRICULUM AND PROGRAM

The total experience of the day is the curriculum of child daycare. It is a combination of all activities from storytelling to nap time to the way in which an aide handles a stressful situation. Everything that happens is curriculum.

Good curriculum is the proper match between the developmental goals of the children and the events of the day. This is not a simple thing to accomplish. It requires knowledge, planning, and specific staff skills. A good program does not just happen. A person unaware of child development education might walk into a very good program and observe excellent curriculum at work without recognizing it. But trained staff and sensitive parents know what it is. Flexibility improves curriculum, but lack of structure promotes chaos. Good teachers and caregivers know how to maintain a balance.

There are many good resources for curriculum development. Local child daycare licensing representatives can direct interested persons to community resources. Organizations such as the National Association for the Education of Young Children provide a mechanism for interaction among staff and programs and distribute information on publications and other resources. There are state and sometimes local organizations specifically for persons working with young children. Also, there is assistance available for meeting the special needs of minority children through organizations such as the Black Child Development Institute.

Head Start has been a leader in early childhood curriculum development, and its materials can be adapted for child daycare programs. Also, in many communities there are opportunities for joint efforts between the child daycare community and Head Start. Local libraries are a good resource and are usually receptive to expanding their capability in this area if interest is expressed. Some communities have lending libraries of toys, equipment, and instructional materials. If a community does not have this type of resource and child advocates see it is a need, they will usually find support from volunteer and civic organizations or business and industry to develop it.

Strengthening existing programs includes improving awareness of the importance of sound curriculum and finding ways to increase

resources. This is the other side of the coin of staff training. The two go hand-in-hand to create good programs.

HEALTH AND SAFETY

One of the paramount concerns of child daycare must be the physical protection of the child. Codes governing health and safety are rightfully strict. Efforts to maintain high safety standards are central to all aspects of the daycare program. From protection during transportation to and from a program to nap-time safety, staff must always be aware of their responsibility to protect the children in their care. Since this is such an important consideration, staff must also work to keep a balance so that the program does not become sterile and inhibiting.

Children learn by experimenting. It is a real challenge to provide opportunities for experimentation and free expression while maintaining safety precautions. Fences, firedoors, and equipment in good repair help to minimize risks. But under the best of circumstances, children in daycare programs, as at home, will have accidents and get hurt. They will also be exposed to infections and will experience the same bouts with childhood illnesses that all children experience.

After reasonable care is taken and policies are maintained for protection, there is still a need for easy access to emergency treatment facilities. For young children this includes dental services, as many accidents involve falls resulting in mouth cuts and tooth damage. Most state laws require maintenance of health and safety procedures and recordkeeping. Special staff training for dealing with emergencies is a must.

Model programs have demonstrated that group care does not necessarily contribute to the health problems of young children, but it is widely recognized that the potential for health risks are greater. Precautions must be taken. As noted earlier, health care for infants is a particularly serious business. From proper hand washing to emergency medical services, there is a wide range of both routine and special health and safety practices needed in every program.

Child daycare programs have provided an important setting for the identification and treatment of health problems. Head Start has been particularly successful in addressing health care needs.[1] Not only can child daycare programs facilitate immunization, but they can offer opportunities for early detection and treatment of disease and identification of inadequate nutrition and other handicapping conditions.

Program capability to adequately address child health care needs has been largely linked to the use of public funds. A study in Berkeley,

California, illuminated the contrast on this point between programs receiving federal and state funds and those that did not. This study showed that many child daycare centers have only a minimal level of health service or health education in their program.[2]

Health standards in child daycare must relate to the health of staff as well as of children. Staff members are also exposed to communicable diseases, and in certain types of disease, such as viral hepatitis, they may experience more severe consequences than the children.

In a study providing background for federal requirements, it was found that risks indeed run high—even in federally funded centers—for vitamin and mineral deficiencies as well as more acute accident and illness problems.[3] Acknowledging the seriousness of this aspect of child daycare, proposed federal daycare regulations set forth the following minimal standards:

1. Daycare centers must have on record for each enrolled child a statement from a licensed health practitioner that the child has received a health assessment and all appropriate immunizations. (Note: This statement is not required for children whose parents object to the receipt of immunizations and health assessments on religious grounds.)

2. The standards to be used for health services are those set by Medicaid's Early Periodic Screening Diagnostic Treatment (EPSDT) program since the majority of children eligible for Health Education and Welfare (HEW)-funded daycare are also eligible for this program. The standards of the American Academy of Pediatricians (AAP) are also referenced for the immunization and health assessments provided to children who are not eligible for Medicaid.

3. The statement for each child must be on record within 60 days of enrollment, and must be updated according to the recommended schedule for routine health supervision of the AAP or the EPSDT National Recommended Health Assessment Plan.

4. Daycare centers are required to provide information to parents, as needed, concerning child health services available in the community.

5. Daycare centers are also required to assist parents in obtaining needed services.

6. State agencies are required to provide information to each daycare center about the availability of child health services in the community and about how the services may be obtained.

7. State agencies are required to make arrangements to allow children in HEW-funded health services, such as those provided under Medicaid's EPSDT program or the Title V Maternal and Child Health Program, to receive those services when needed.[4]

Unfortunately, these funding regulations were never implemented.

Many programs maintain a working relationship with the public health service. Health education is also an aspect of parent involvement. Programs can improve this aspect of their service by participating in in-service or field work plans for nursing students. Support organizations serving the needs of a collective of centers or family daycare homes may be able to secure volunteer time from medical students. Usually, local pediatricians are interested in programs and often serve on boards of directors or in other advisory capacities.

Overcrowded, understaffed child daycare operations in homes or in centers do pose a threat to the health and safety of young children. This is first and foremost a moral and humanitarian issue, but it can also be a legal issue. Liability is a major consideration for any child-caring operation. It should be. Parents have a right to expect that any provider of service is prepared to protect the health and safety of their children, and many programs do an excellent job of this. But not every program is that accountable. Even the fact of licensing does not guarantee that a program is sound in this regard. Parents should visit and observe carefully the programs they select. If they are denied reasonable access, they should be suspicious. They have a right and an obligation to make certain that their child is safe.

Improving existing services includes the development of more and better health service resources for children in care. It also includes the need for adequate monitoring of appropriate standards. Again, this is an area in which community participation and support could be increased.

FACILITIES

Every child daycare center director's dream of the ideal program includes an attractive space that is specifically designed for this purpose. Reality is "make-do" arrangements in old schools, storefronts, church basements, homes, and factories reclaimed for use as child daycare

centers. Some are surprisingly attractive and functional. Others are a constant hassle and liability. Most directors become general handy-persons and learn to deal with everything from leaky roofs to stuck windows as they struggle to adapt to old and deteriorating space that was never intended to house preschool children.

The design and construction of facilities specifically for child daycare has not been the usual approach. Consequently, there are often space problems that interfere with program effectiveness. Sometimes these problems may be costly to remedy, but occasionally a little creative zeal and elbow grease can make a world of difference.

When new space is designed and constructed, it tends to lack input at the right time from child care practitioners and may end up reflecting space patterns more suitable for public school education of older children. Or it may reflect an architect's fantasy of the world of childhood. This is indeed unfortunate. It is difficult but understandable to have to cope with an inadequate, old, and adapted space. To work in a new, expensive, and beautiful but unsuitable facility is genuinely frustrating.

One of the ways of improving existing services involves remodeling and construction. In small but significant ways, parents can help with this. There are other volunteer possibilities in most communities. For minor problems, this approach is useful. But real program improvement will have to include some new construction. Since many businesses and foundations hesitate to become involved in financing ongoing operations, they are sometimes more receptive to contributions for capital improvements. The trend toward including child daycare centers in apartment complexes also offers hope for better spaces.

Facility design is not everything. Some of the best programs can be found in the most difficult buildings. It is quite possible also to find some of the worst programs in the best buildings. However, when a good program can find a home in an appropriate, well-designed, adequate facility, the combination produces a winner.

PROGRAM MANAGEMENT

Child daycare, like all other businesses, public or private, needs good management. This is not only necessary for good service, but may be a matter of survival. A liking for children is not a sufficient base for operating a program. Being a qualified teacher does not necessarily make one a good manager. When program management breaks down, morale suffers, the program suffers, and ultimately the children suffer.

Existing services can be improved by increasing the management

skills of key personnel. This type of training may be found in the community in places not usually frequented by educators. It is an area in which the business community can lend assistance. Productivity and efficiency have become important factors in the business world, and the principles of good management are transferable from one type of operation to another. Training in time management, interpersonal relations, and decision-making are as important in child daycare operations as in any other business. There are also unexplored applications of computer science not only to fiscal management, but to program management aspects of child daycare.

Child daycare programs are highly regulated by a host of agencies. If public monies are used, the recordkeeping requirements can be overwhelming. Extensive records must be kept not only on funds and personnel actions, but on the progress of children and their eligibility for services. Issues such as confidentiality must be addressed and built into the management system.

Every type of program has management needs. Family daycare mothers operate essentially as small businesses with all of the associated requirements. Large systems or networks of services have budgets measured in the millions of dollars. It is no wonder that management is a key concern in this field. There has been a lag in developing the skills and supports needed due to the nature of the industry and public attitudes.

Something as simple as an operational manual might be a major step for a program in achieving good management. Many programs do not have a concise statement of their goals, requirements, and operational procedures. When there is a change of staff, vital information may be lost.

Local business administration schools can be helpful resources along with other training institutions. Many colleges have excellent management courses in their community programs as well as in the regular curriculum. Ultimately, key staff must be aware of the importance of this aspect of the program or resources and program content will be irrelevant.

Grants and contracts for improving and expanding services may be contingent on a program's ability to prove its management skills. However, both for-profit and non-profit programs usually need help and improvement in this area. Whether or not public monies are a factor, management is an issue. Improving existing services involves upgrading management capabilities at every level of program development and operation.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

INFORMATION AND REFERRAL

One viable approach to strengthening the existing delivery system has been found in the concept of information and referral. Improving the use of social service resources through central information exchanges dates back to the late 1800s. The importance of information and referral in delivery systems gained particular recognition during World War II and the post-war years, when expanded services for veterans required special coordination. During the 1960s new efforts were made to coordinate the increased range of social services emerging during the years of the Great Society and the War on Poverty. Across the country, United Way attempted to strengthen its programs with this approach; however, government sponsorship did not continue as a priority.

Child care information and referral was a primary function of the Community Coordinated Child Care (4C) effort, particularly where some type of voucher or individual purchase plan was in use or universal access was emphasized. Although this was a short-lived program as far as federal sponsorship is concerned, the concept has been carried forward in a number of communities as 4Cs have found local sponsorship or integrated efforts with related organizations.

Today, information and referral (I & R) is again emerging as a significant influence on the child care delivery system. In recognition of limited resources and increasing demand, I & R systems offer a means of avoiding duplication and maximizing the use of existing programs. They serve to coordinate various types of care such as family daycare with center-based and after-school care. I & R programs offer an important key to linking supply with demand and thereby maximizing consumer choice.

In the wake of a national trend to deregulate, consumer choice has emerged as an alternate means of control. This shift is consistent with attitudes in favor of reinforcing the role of the parent in shaping the responsiveness of programs as well as the overall delivery system. Parent choice and parent participation have become even more critical since the early 1970s, when failure to secure national legislation was reflective of right-wing opposition to daycare as an intrusion of the state into the family. Not only do I & R efforts strengthen the parent role in a

community system of child daycare, but such an emphasis inherently preserves the diversity of programs and providers.

Information to prevent duplication of effort maximizes use of existing services and creates a mechanism with a data base essential to future planning. These goals are common to I & R efforts in the social services generally and in rehabilitation service fields. However, some of the unique characteristics of the child daycare scene make I & R activity particularly relevant and call for a specifically designed system. Child daycare information and referral can exist as a component of larger systems, but it has been proven most effective when it is an independent system uniquely related to child daycare delivery.

California has one of the most extensive statewide child daycare I & R systems. The concept was favored in 1976 when state legislation encouraged innovative approaches. Forty of the existing 60 specialized I & R projects are found in California. Two of the best known are the San Francisco Switchboard and Bananas of Berkeley. Another good example is the Child Care Resource Center in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Also, in evaluating appropriate support roles for their companies, industry representatives are examining I & R as a possible way of helping employees to meet their child care needs.

I & R programs not only help parents find child care services, they often offer technical assistance to prospective providers and ongoing program support. The information they gather is useful for planning and advocacy purposes. Some also assist people seeking employment in the daycare field and may offer a variety of related services. This type of function was central to the concept of Community Coordinated Child Care (4C), which still exists in a number of communities in spite of a withdrawal of federal financing.

It is clear that I & R has become an important element in improving the child daycare situation. However, information and referral alone cannot resolve the crisis. To identify service does not necessarily make it affordable. I & R cannot single-handedly compensate for the lack of resources to initiate new services or improve existing ones. When the task is to find specialized services for a handicapped child, the role of I & R is sometimes the sad one of simply reporting that it does not exist.

Also, there are unresolved problems of liability. Many people seek not only information but recommendations. I & R efforts have sometimes been charged with discrimination, and there are serious questions regarding the responsibilities inherent in the role of referral. Issues of support versus regulation also are bound up in I & R. Should a system refer parents to unlicensed services? Such referrals are prohibited by certain funding sources, but obtaining the required licenses is sometimes difficult, and there are some understandable

resistances, particularly by family daycare providers, to licensing systems.

Progress is being made in refining this component of the delivery system. There is clearly enormous potential to improve the delivery system by the use of effective I & R programs. James A. Levine, in a discussion of the prospects and dilemmas of child care information and referral, concludes:

> Perhaps the worst dilemma we face with I & R will be the tendency to expect too much of it. I & R was largely ignored at the beginning of the 1970s. As we now enter a decade where evershrinking resources are likely to mix with an increasing demand for consumer choice and for deregulation, I & R is likely to be seized upon as *the* solution for breaking the daycare stalemate. Signs of that already appear in the work of the neoconservative axis; they may be pushed ahead if other politicians latch on to Jerry Brown's "less is more" philosophy; and they may be furthered by a federal government very eager to find a way to make the system work better.
>
> I & R does appear to have enormous potential: if we don't look to it for an instant success and are willing to work through some of the dilemmas it poses; if we recognize that it may work only in combination with the redesign of our regulatory system, or with a mix of procedures that allows it to give parents the type of evaluated information that they want.
>
> Fifteen years ago, Alfred Kahn laid out a plan for a wide-ranging national experiment with information and referral; fifteen years later I & R may indeed work—especially if we learn some lessons from the past, recognize its complexity, and provide the funding that will give it a chance.[5]

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

EXPANDING SERVICES

It is not enough to improve existing service. The need for child daycare has reached crisis proportions, and shortages are extreme. Ways must be found to create additional services of all types for children of all ages. The support base must also be expanded to meet the needs of a higher level of service delivery.

It is difficult to emphasize growth at a time when many programs are experiencing reductions. Most of today's growth is in private-sector services to middle-income families. Certainly continued expansion in this area is important and needs community support. However, the immediate crisis is more acute for lower-income families. Communities must develop the capability to stimulate expansion to provide service to families regardless of income.

A comprehensive community network of child daycare will include services to meet the needs of all children. Subsidies to low-income families are an important aspect of the delivery system. There will no doubt be a wide spectrum of sponsors in response to buying power. But it is important to keep the total picture in focus when seeking solutions. Family income fluctuates. Community solutions should support families in obtaining service as their income changes.

ADVOCACY

Children have been called the original minority. They are dependent on adults to meet not only their developmental needs but their very survival needs. They have no vote, no platform, and no lobby apart from their adult advocates. Parents are and should be the primary advocates for children, but children also belong to the community and to the nation. The nurturing of the next generation is both an individual and a collective responsibility.

Child advocacy, therefore, is everybody's business. The degree to which a community has an effective child advocacy effort will be reflected in the level and quality of services for children, including child daycare. It will also be reflected in the quality of life of the community in general.

Effective advocacy must be built from the ground up. It is difficult to reverse that order. The failure in the 1970s to establish favorable national policy and legislation for child development pointed up the absence of a local advocacy base. National advocacy is possible only when it has well-organized grass-roots support. Votes on national policy issues are cast in Washington, but they reflect the interests and concerns of local constituents.

Local efforts enlisting broad participation on behalf of children are essential ingredients of the child advocacy process. Volunteer groups such as the Council of Jewish Women, Junior League, League of Women Voters, and Jaycees, along with religious organizations, government, business, social service institutions, and the educational community, must work together to identify the needs of young children and to support efforts to meet those needs.

All children need a certain level of community support for their healthy growth and development. Even upper-income parents cannot assure a safe environment for their child without community and sometimes government support. But the child of the low-income family is in greater jeopardy, and for this child, daycare is an investment with a high return. When this fact is understood by community leaders, child advocacy is not so difficult to mobilize. It is essential to effective planning, resource mobilization, and program development.

In North Carolina a new project, Voices For Children, has recently been launched by the North Carolina Association for the Education of Young Children with the assistance of High/Scope Educational Research Foundation. This public education campaign is designed to increase awareness and to encourage advocacy for high-quality early childhood education as a cost-effective public investment. A flyer enlisting support identifies the following as appropriate activities for a public education campaign:

- alerting opinion leaders to the major advantages to society of early childhood programs in lowering the need for tax expenditures for other programs
- assembling groups of concerned citizens to discuss ways of making programs available
- establishing mechanisms for supporting such programs cooperatively
- exploring possible uses of the tax system to bolster support of preschool programs

This call to action for children in North Carolina is a good national model. Another excellent model is found in the Office for Children in Massachusetts. There is no state that can boast of an adequate level of quality child daycare and preschool education for all children in need of these services, but some have made enormous strides towards that goal.

Finding solutions to child daycare problems demands broad community participation and support. Concerned citizens must be aware and informed, and have the will to act on behalf of young children.

COALITION BUILDING

Child advocacy is strengthened by coalitions with other interest groups. Unfortunately, groups with similar interests are often in competition for the same piece of a small pie. Not only must child daycare advocates join forces with child welfare, health care, and early childhood education groups, but they must work with advocates for the handicapped and the elderly. Occasionally, an unusual opportunity emerges for joint efforts in both program development and advocacy.

The Integrated Services Act of the 1970s, which never became a reality, upheld the principle of collaboration and interaction among segments of the population, as have a number of similar efforts. Model Cities promoted new alliances in some cities by stimulating innovative program design. In Atlanta, Georgia, the Model Cities Child Development Program was a joint venture between child and aging advocates. The program provided full daycare services for infants and toddlers and part-time jobs for older community residents as child care aides. The program was initially administered by Senior Citizens' Services of Metropolitan Atlanta and adhered to the most demanding standards for program operation. At that time the proposed Federal Interagency Requirements for care of children under age three were still under development by the American Academy of Pediatrics. These standards were used to develop a network of centers and family daycare homes serving approximately 300 young children and providing part-time employment for about 40 low-income older residents in combination with about 30 full-time Model Neighborhood residents of all ages. The resulting alliance between advocates for senior citizens and for children continued to the advantage of both. There were a number of program pluses, including a centralized transportation system and other shared services.

Today tax credit legislation offers a new opportunity for coalition building between advocates for children and for the elderly and disabled. This legislation gives tax relief to families not only for child

daycare but for the care of the aged and disabled in support of the working adults of the household. Proposed changes would expand the tax credit to make it even more beneficial. Parents who now need child care support may well face financial responsibilities beyond their means for the care of aging parents in the future. In 1920 there were 76 elderly for every 100 middle-aged Americans. Today there are 180 elderly for every 100 middle-aged people. The age group of people over 80 years old is the fastest growing segment of the population. One out of ten women aged 44 to 58 claims that the health of a family member limits her work.

There are 8.4 million severely disabled adults between the ages of 18 and 64, in addition to 500,000 handicapped children under six years old. In other words, daycare is important to a very large population. As already pointed out, it is primarily an employment-related issue.

Child advocates can join forces with those concerned about the well-being of elderly and disabled adults in supporting improvements in the tax credit legislation of the Economic Recovery Act. Care for dependent persons of all ages is primarily seen as the woman's responsibility in our society. This is therefore also a feminist issue.

Recent research by High/Scope shows a correlation between preschool education and the prevention of juvenile delinquency. This study documents what has long been assumed by those who understand human development. It suggests coalition building with juvenile justice advocates, along with all special interest groups who promote maximizing the human potential. Everyone gains when advocates combine efforts to improve human conditions and the quality of life.

During this period of economic hard times, it is tempting to compete rather than to collaborate. Coalition building is a better way, and it has been shown to work.

PLANNING

Orderly and planned growth of child daycare services in the United States has occurred primarily in communities with thriving coordinating mechanisms. Other educational or social services, as part of some government agency, have enjoyed the benefits of ongoing planning and evaluation. This has never been true of the informal delivery system of child care. At best, isolated sources of public funds have required a planning process. Certain segments of the non-profit sector have had planning support from agencies such as United Way. However, comprehensive planning that considers all types of services with the complete range of funding sources, including parent fees, has seldom been undertaken. As a result, centers may be concentrated in

one part of a city and absent in another. Rarely is there an adequate mix of service options.

Locations for services are often chosen according to available space rather than need. For instance, a proprietor may inherit a house that seems usable for a daycare center. A church group may decide to fill empty space with a child daycare program. Also, programs may be developed in response to a job market or other factors which are important but in isolation do not reflect thoughtful planning. Information and referral systems can be most helpful on this point.

Most of the 4C programs attempted to fill this gap and launched planning efforts with broad community participation. Some were quite successful, but almost all found it difficult to generate funds for planning when monies for continued operation of existing programs were so badly needed. Adequate planning is not free, it is not easy, and it cannot happen quickly.

Large social service institutions, government, and businesses have planning resources that may be tapped by the child daycare community. A number of companies, such as Proctor and Gamble, have made their expertise available from time to time for consumer surveys. There is a need for more of this type of support at national and local levels.

At a minimum, some organization in the community should be collecting and analyzing information on immediate and long-term supply and demand for purposes of program planning. This involves collecting and analyzing census data, data on population and economic development trends, and projections of land use patterns. Strong information and referral services may either have this capacity or be able to coordinate the effort to collect information. Communities without an I & R mechanism often lack essential data, especially since there is no comprehensive planning or data collection at the national level. Both local and national data are essential for successful planning.

In the early 1970s a Day Care Planning Committee was organized under the sponsorship of the Atlanta 4C effort. This was a representative group of hard-working people who spent over a year collecting data and studying delivery system design. The result was a useful document defining a model system with guidelines for application in specific neighborhoods. The plan addressed center-based care, family daycare, in-home care, and hourly care. It included consideration of the needs of sick children, emergency care needs, and the needs of handicapped children. This plan was used during a period when public funds were available to improve and expand services. It was typical of the type of good planning in a number of communities with a strong central support mechanism for child daycare. However, in very few places does this capacity still exist. The child daycare field must

find ways of promoting effective planning during a time when the emphasis is on survival rather than growth.

If market analysis techniques developed by business and industry were applied to planning for human services, there would be a direct payback to business in the form of employee performance. Industries that depend largely on female labor are making a wise investment when they contribute their skills and resources to sound planning and resource development for child daycare services. Computer technology also can increase efficiency and accuracy in planning, helping to maximize resources and respond to the rising demand for services.

Expanding child daycare services requires the creation and maintenance of a planning capability. With a volunteer planning committee and community support, the costs of planning should not be excessive. Involving citizens in the planning process also is an effective means of public education and of building an advocacy base. Advertising the need is often the first step towards finding solutions. Informed citizens can become active in resource development, and they are much more likely to embrace that role from a thoughtful and orderly planning initiative than on the basis of a crisis approach. Good planning must project rather than react. The multiple problems of the present child-care crisis make that difficult, but it continues to be a prerequisite for program expansion.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

DECREASING THE NEED FOR SERVICES

There is unquestionably a need to improve and expand child daycare services. But a better balance between supply and demand also can be achieved by reducing the need for services. This is at best a partial solution, but in the present crisis it can be significant.

There are a number of ways to alleviate the conflict between job and parenting responsibilities. One of the more obvious is to increase access to part-time employment during high-demand parenting years. However, the reduced earning of this partial solution makes it impractical for many families and has not been favored by employers.

Other possibilities include the stimulation of more home-based income-producing activities. Some businesses, particularly banks, are experimenting with home-based terminals connected to central computers which allow employees to work in alternative settings. This has been enthusiastically embraced by working mothers but raises problems for the unions.

Some corporations also are exploring flexible work scheduling. This "pro-family" policy is being tried in insurance, banking, finance, and public-sector organizations. High technology firms (such as Control Data) and retail companies (such as J.C. Penney) are beginning to utilize flexible scheduling in a manner that could decrease the need for formal child care arrangements as parents coordinate schedules with each other. Another important consideration for many young families is the option of parental leave. This too is being explored by some companies.

Flexible benefit plans can also alleviate the child care problems of young families. Companies with "pro-family" policies have become more aware of the impact of relocations and have instituted supports such as job-finding help for spouses. American Can Company, TRW, Inc., and the Educational Testing Service are among the firms beginning to explore flexible plans.

A number of innovative approaches have emerged and will continue to surface as parents seek to solve their individual child care dilemmas

and their employers become more aware of the relationship between productivity and responsible parenting.

With the prospect of acute shortages of child daycare services even with dramatic expansions, it is imperative to explore all approaches to solutions. New technology may prove useful in managing employee time and benefits in a fashion more supportive to parents. This is a forward movement, and it should complement efforts to improve and expand daycare services.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

RESOURCE MOBILIZATION

Child daycare is expensive, its full costs beyond the reach of many parents. Even if the parent can afford the full cost of direct service, the cost of the necessary support system, including information and referral, staff training, planning, and evaluation, must be financed by other sources. Most parents, especially single parents and sole providers, need some type of financial assistance either directly or indirectly.

Financing child daycare takes one of two forms. Funds are made available directly to the parent for purchase (i.e., a voucher) or by reimbursement (i.e., the tax credit). Or funds are made available to the program to operate services with reduced or no fees.

There are a number of different payment plans; some were described earlier in the section on the delivery system. Traditionally, child daycare has been financed directly by parents or by government and private agencies in the form of grants and contracts to providers. Most non-profit programs operate on a year-to-year basis, scrambling to hold onto existing funds and searching for new sources as their own operational costs go higher and the demand for their services increases.

Fundraising has become a primary responsibility of the child daycare administrator. A great deal of energy goes into identifying sources, educating funders, and proposal writing. Programs that survive are sophisticated in the art of resource mobilization. They operate in an advocacy system that never sleeps, using every opportunity to educate the community and policymakers about the purposes and needs of their programs. Their boards of directors are involved in fundraising, and the board composition reflects that role, including a good balance of "show horses" and "work horses."

Well-financed programs are usually well-managed and work cooperatively with monitoring and evaluation agencies. They aggressively seek funds and find them in both expected and unexpected places. When possible, they substitute donated goods and services for cash and give credit publicly to any and all who help, however small the contribution may be.

There are exceptions to every rule. Child daycare providers have

discovered them all. No publication could possibly provide an exhaustive treatment of the subject of fundraising for child daycare. When child care providers go to fundraising seminars they always contribute as much information as they gather. The highlights offered here will not be new information for the veteran child daycare administrator, but may be useful to others who are new to the field.

PUBLIC FUNDS FOR CHILD DAYCARE

Federal Government

With the exception of the war effort in the 1940s, the federal government has historically limited its role in child daycare to the support of low-income families. The new tax credit legislation changes that, primarily providing support to the middle-income family. Programs seeking federal funds today will find that unless they are already a part of the funding system, there is little opportunity for participation.

With few exceptions, federal funds are funneled through the states. The major resource was created by the Social Security Act. There are several other federal resources, but there is no specific child development or child daycare legislation. This problem was discussed as a part of the historical perspective of the current child care dilemma. Also, virtually all federal resources are being reduced rather than expanded. It is estimated that all federal expenditures combined for child daycare add up to about $4 billion. Highlights of the major federal resources are described below.

Title XX of the Social Security Act

In 1980 these funds provided service to approximately 750,000 children from low- and moderate-income families. The cost was about $650 million. In 1981 this resource became a part of the Social Services Block Grant. There is no longer a requirement that Title XX funds be used for child daycare or that monies be targeted for low-income children; $200 million had been earmarked as 100 percent federal funding specifically for child care; and the match by states, which had been required on a 1 to 3 ratio, was eliminated. The total block grant reflected an overall reduction from $3.1 billion to $2.4 billion.

The impact of these cuts is still not fully known. Some states have stiffened eligibility guidelines to adjust to the cuts. Others have simply reduced contracts, resulting in the closing of some centers and the scaling down of others. These cuts are particularly painful as they directly impact at-risk children, the children of families that

without child daycare assistance cannot hope to become or remain self-sufficient. The loss of service to these children will directly increase welfare and decrease developmental opportunities for those in greatest need.

Before these most recent reductions were made, some programs voluntarily dropped from Title XX participation due to the restrictive guidelines and excessive reporting requirements. For instance, a church-sponsored program in Atlanta, which was founded to serve an economic mix of families, found the Title XX bookkeeping requirements too cumbersome when families paying the full fee were served along with subsidized families. They withdrew the Title XX participation in favor of a privately financed scholarship plan for low-income families along with a sliding-fee schedule for all participants.

In a number of instances the stiffening of eligibility guidelines has eliminated parents who are willing and able to pay fees. Since there are no service alternatives, they face the choice of job loss or the use of unreliable and unstable child care arrangements.

Programs already participating in Title XX are well aware of the problems and often make efforts to improve the situation at the state level. Programs seeking start-up funds will find that this is not a good time to look for federal monies, but it is important to become informed and continue to follow the situation. Access to these funds is through the state system. Usually, they are administered by the state department of human services or its equivalent. Under the guidelines, it is possible for states to contract for services from all types of providers and to use a variety of funding mechanisms. But, with a few exceptions, contracts are with non-profit organizations on a unit purchase, reimbursement basis. Current information on funds available and accessiblity can be obtained from the family and children division of the state department of human services. Ask for information on child daycare funded by the Social Services Block Grant.

Head Start

Since Head Start is a part-day program it is not always counted as a child daycare service. Nevertheless, for many of its participants it does at least partially serve that purpose. As one of the "safety net" services of the present administration, Head Start has not experienced dramatic cuts as have other programs serving low-income children. However, rising program costs and the loss of in-kind support services have strained the program budget. Head Start serves only about 20 percent of those children eligible for its

program, and there are limited opportunities for expansion. If a community does not already have a Head Start program, it is not likely to get it. However, linkages with Head Start can extend the scope and effectiveness of a comprehensive approach to child daycare. In a few communities, collaborations have developed that allow Head Start families to make a smooth transition to full daycare. One example of this is found in central Florida.

Although Head Start is a relatively small program, it is a major component of the total child development effort and an important federal resource to families and to child daycare programs. It has enhanced national awareness of the value of preschool education. This program does indeed give children a "head start." Parents, teachers, and administrators involved in Head Start believe in what they are doing and do it quite well in spite of low salaries (averaging only $6,865 a year) and other problems of limited budgets.

For existing Head Start programs, there is a well-defined process for securing continued funding. Most of these programs are concerned about their survival and work hard to maintain program quality in the face of many problems, not the least of which is financial. There is little or no financing from this source to initiate new programs. For more information on Head Start, contact your regional federal office, Administration on Children, Youth and Families, or the state training office providing technical assistance and training to participating programs. Since Head Start is so widely distributed, the easiest way to find out about it is to contact a local program for general information on Head Start in a specific geographic area.

Child Care Food Program

This federal program provided $351 million in 1981 to reimburse child care centers, family daycare homes, Head Start, and after-school programs providing meals for low-income children. These funds have now been reduced to $260 million. Access is through the U.S. Department of Agriculture. Again, the recent cuts limit new access. It is unlikely that many new programs will be able to tap into these funds unless cut funds are reinstated.

AFDC Child Care Disregard

This program compensates families on welfare for their child care expenses. It is a reimbursement program which until this year could "disregard" the full cost of child care in calculating Aid to Families With Dependent Children (AFDC) benefits. Now the disregard is limited to $160 per month per child. This resource has

been further weakened by "work-fare" guidelines which ironically create additional child daycare needs but do not provide adequate resources. The result is a thinner spread of already strained resources. These funds are administered by state welfare systems. A mother receiving public assistance would gain access to these resources through her welfare counselor. Whereas they do constitute a federal resource for child daycare, there is no direct access to these funds by programs seeking operational support.

Appalachian Regional Commission

These federal funds supported child daycare for children living in the poorest areas of 13 eastern and southern states. That source of financing has been cut by about 54 percent, impacting primarily the very poor, rural families of the Appalachian Mountain area. Since these funds were geographically limited, their loss is being felt in those particular areas. This reduction has compounded other federal cuts of related programs. Again, this is not a viable and available resource except under the most limited conditions.

Child Care Tax Credit

This resource was enacted in 1976 and improved in 1981. It is basically an income tax refund, and therefore does not benefit anyone who does not make enough to pay taxes. It does provide relief to middle-income families. Child daycare expenses can be claimed as a work expense deduction, giving families support through tax relief. A sliding scale is used, which considers family size and income level. At a maximum, the amount of expenses against which the credit can be taken is $2,400 for one child and $4,800 for two or more children. This effectively provides parents with a 20 to 30 percent savings in costs of care.

Access to this resource is on an individual family basis. It does indirectly finance center operations and takes some of the sting out of fees for those parents who are able to benefit from it. Many child daycare programs assist parents in gaining access to this assistance. Also, a local IRS office can offer advice. However, it is a type of tax reduction and may not be realized concurrent with fee payments, nor does the tax credit provide funds directly to programs.

The child care tax credit is a part of the Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981. That legislation also established a new form of non-taxable employee benefit which can be utilized in at least three ways:

- establishment of on-site child care services for employees

- purchase of care by employers for employees
- reimbursement by employers to employees for dependent care costs

This is a new resource and is not well-known or widely used to date, particularly by employers. The Bay Area Law Project in San Francisco provides a good analysis of this resource. Employers interested in this should secure the information and consult with their tax lawyers on possible applications.

Labor Department

U.S. Department of Labor appropriations have sometimes been used for child daycare as a part of the support system for program participants. Also, in many communities social service and child care programs have been able to participate in training and job development activities and therefore to secure staff through Department of Labor programs. However, recent changes have made this source less available in most communities. The Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) has been replaced by the Job Training Partnership Act. Local private industry councils participate in decision-making along with government agencies. Access to these programs is through state or local governments. This funding is not specifically allocated for child daycare and its availability is limited at best. Nevertheless, child advocates and service planners should stay in close communication with representatives of the labor programs and continue to seek assistance from this source.

Summary

Federal funds for child daycare are now split between various programs and the tax credit system. Parents and employers will find it worthwhile to investigate the tax credit system. Proposed revisions of that system could make it a more valuable and accessible resource. All other federal resources for child daycare are difficult to secure unless a program is already participating in a plan which usually involves both state and local administrative processes.

The bottom line is that federal funds for child daycare operations have been severely cut. The present trend is for the federal government to provide limited reimbursement through the tax system, which gives more assistance to upper-income families than

lower-income families due to the nature of the program and the guidelines.

State Government

Due to recent changes in federal policy, most federal funds flow through the states. The degree to which states add their own funds to create a system with broader guidelines or to expand programs established under earlier legislation varies widely. It is difficult to determine the exact mix of state, federal, and local dollars.

The primary resource to states from the federal government is found in the Social Services Block Grant. This mechanism replaced the previous structure of Title XX and includes changes in the system of matching state funds with federal funds. (See previous section on federal funds.) States now have more flexibility in the use of both federal and state funds that are continuing to be used for child daycare. The requirement to use public monies for child daycare has been loosened, but increasing demand and the strong child advocacy in many states has kept commitments in place. In many instances child daycare has not experienced disproportionate cuts in comparision to other child and family service programs, but state funds have been needed to replace declining federal funds. Increases in state appropriations, however, have not usually meant an increase in service levels. To the contrary, states may be spending more while services continue to decline. One of the primary methods being used to cope with this situation is a tightening of eligibility guidelines. Therefore, the use of funds is becoming more restrictive in spite of the fact that the Social Services Block Grant gives states more flexibility.

The role of the states has always been significant in child daycare funding. It is now primary. Not only do states administer the funds, they now have more freedom in setting policy and establishing priorities and goals. Standards are also set at the state level. The present system includes a shift away from federal standards and monitoring. Daycare licensing has always been a state function. It continues to be and in many instances has been expanded to make up for the diminishing federal role.

Where urban and rural interests are equally represented in state governments, child daycare tends to get its fair share of attention. However, when the interests of minorities, inner city/urban residents, and other disenfranchised populations are under-represented in state government, child advocates have a difficult time holding their own in state policy decisions. When these advocates are able to articulate the cost benefits of child daycare as well as its human development dimensions, they are more successful in gaining state support.

In the search for public funds, the state has emerged as the key access point. This increases the need for coordination and networking among child development and service groups within a given state. It also increases the need for communication and good will among special interest groups.

Where strong state advisory or advocacy councils exist, there is a growing opportunity for positive collaboration to benefit children. North Carolina's Advocacy Councils are a good example. This network of councils is closely tied to the governor's office and enjoys administrative and executive support. North Carolina has launched a major public education campaign on child daycare.

Child advocates seeking increased resources for daycare services must learn to work with both the executive and administrative arms of state government. Where strong state advocacy is well-organized and active, the level of resources rises and access is simplified. In states without this type of citizen advocacy for children the daycare crisis worsens and the frustration level rises.

Programs seeking public resources should contact the appropriate department of their state human services administrative system. However, they should not expect easy or immediate access to either state funds or state-administered federal funds for child daycare.

Local Government

The role of city and county governments in funding child daycare ranges from a flat zero to a significant level of support. The level usually reflects both the financial status of local government and the level of successful advocacy for children in that particular jurisdiction. Not only do some local governments appropriate child daycare funds, but they use their influence to pull more state and federal funds into their area. Also, local government controls the use of community development funds which have in limited ways supported child daycare.

Some of the larger cities have been in the child daycare business for a long time. Others became involved when funds flowed to local governments through the City Demonstration Act (Model Cities) in the mid-1970s. Model Cities monies could be used as a match to draw down larger sums of public funds (at that time, Title VA of the Social Security Act). This opportunity changed the options for local government participation in child daycare funding. The Model Cities program introduced child daycare concerns to many city council members and county commissioners. Once involved, they faced difficult decisions when the Model Cities funds came to an end. That particular legislation was initiated as a limited time-frame program of approximately five to seven years. In some cases, local monies were used to replace the Model

Cities funds, but in many instances substitute funds were easier to find at the state level. In some communities it was impossible to replace the funds.

In recent years the financial situation of most urban areas has worsened. The demand for city services is rising at a time when revenues are declining. Federal budget cuts have had a severe impact on cities, and child advocates are facing difficult realities in seeking local funds. Nevertheless, some local governments have held fast to their commitment to child daycare and have continued to be a major local resource. Where this is true, there is an established process for access, usually through the human services administration arm of city or county government. Again, newcomers will find access difficult or impossible. Fundraisers are more likely to generate sympathy and moral support than cash. Nevertheless, local government does play an important role in resource mobilization for child daycare.

In addition to direct funding, local governments are providing or fostering the development of supports such as planning, evaluation, coordination, information and referral, and resource development. Local governments also influence state priorities and can help local groups in bargaining for their share of state and federal funds. Local governments can also stimulate interest from the private sector and participate in other ways of mobilizing resources.

Resource developers for child daycare should be familiar with city hall and county administrative offices. The role of local government can usually be increased with a strong advocacy effort.

PRIVATE RESOURCES FOR CHILD DAYCARE

In most communities there are both individual and collective fund-raising mechanisms for charitable causes. Child daycare has always found sponsorship and funding from these groups and they make up a significant part of the overall resource picture.

United Way

There are variations on the local agency names, but most communities participate in some form of United Way. From its earliest days, United Way has included child daycare centers in its funding package. When it became possible to use United Way monies as a match for federal dollars, some communities did so. In some instances this dramatically multiplied the funds; in other instances the United Way share was reduced so that the new combined funding remained at about the same level or a little higher. Also, some United Way agencies chose to keep some funds free of the federal/state system in order to continue

to serve clients not eligible under the public funding guidelines.

In some states United Way funds were matched with federal monies to provide support services, including coordination, planning, information and referral, technical assistance, and staff training. In many communities there was special interest in information and referral as United Way was concerned with a broad-based system that could direct clients to many kinds of services.

Since most United Way agencies made commitments early in their history to specific programs and have had difficulty maintaining those services, they are not very receptive to taking on new programs. Also, many lack a national plan for selecting new services. However, where some type of effective funding coordination system is present, United Way agencies have been more receptive to spreading their funds among different programs. Recent federal budget cuts have also adversely affected many United Way agencies. Not only had these funding systems matched their private monies for child daycare, but they also participated in federal/state collaborations for the elderly and other special interest groups. The reduction of federal funds has strained their private resources. Some United Way agencies made policy decisions not to replace lost monies with their funds, and this has contributed to more intense local competition for fewer resources.

Certainly United Way is an important resource for child daycare. Program developers will find this mechanism to be a source not only of funds but of planning data and other assistance. However, fund-raisers for child daycare are unlikely to meet their total needs through United Way unless they have been in a funding relationship for many years. New programs are taken on only after lengthy consideration, and United Way is more likely to upgrade or expand a program already under its sponsorship than to adopt a new program. Usually the only way around this general policy is through a collective funding system for child daycare in which United Way is one participant.

Foundations

Approximately 30 foundations fund child daycare programs out of approximately 60 that fund projects and organizations related to children's services. Since there are about 20,000 foundations, it can be concluded that foundations are not a major resource for child daycare services.

Most foundations provide support for only limited time periods, usually one to three years. If service delivery is funded by a foundation, it is usually within a framework that anticipates additional resources if the effort proves effective and worthwhile. Foundations have made significant contributions in the area of research and advocacy.

Foundations well-known for their supportive role include the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Ford Foundation, Rockefeller Brothers Fund, and the Lilly Endowment. Also, corporate foundations, including Levi Strauss, Shell Oil, Qale, and McDonalds, have contributed to child daycare support. Foundations have made and can continue to make special contributions to public education on the daycare issue. They have provided supports complementary to public efforts. Carnegie recently supported a re-examination of the role of business and industry in work-related child care. This is a good example of the way foundations have attempted to use their limited resources to stimulate other avenues of resource development.

Small local foundations have made one-time contributions to child care programs for start-up expenses or special program needs. Also, they have been a local resource for resolving temporary cash flow problems. But, locally as well as nationally, foundations play only a minor role in the financing of program operations.

Religious Groups

Religious groups seldom finance child daycare programs, but they often provide space, administrative support, and some funds to supplement parent fees. Also, many churches have participated in public/private systems using state and federal funds to operate services directly or indirectly.

During the 1950s churches experienced what clergy leadership has called an edifice complex. Many large and good quality buildings were erected as educational facilities for congregations. When these facilities seemed to be underused, church leadership looked for ways to put the space to work and to be of service to the community. Child daycare was a natural choice. Some entered into direct sponsorship and administration, while others donated space to other operational organizations or individuals. In either event the arrangement can become complex and has required careful planning to assure smooth program operations.

There are some unique policy issues for churches sponsoring child daycare. These issues become even more difficult when public monies and guidelines are a part of the operation. There is always potential for conflict over space use between the daycare program and the other church activities.

Religious groups are usually eligible for participation in public programs in ways similar to other non-profit community organizations. They can and do utilize federal food service funds as well as public monies designated for purchase of child daycare. Many house Head Start centers or other publicly funded services.

The role of the religious community in child daycare delivery has been documented in a study by the National Council of Churches published by High/Scope. It is significant and should be included in any inventory of resources. In addition to funds and space, churches have often provided volunteer staff, both lay and clergy, with excellent skills for developing and maintaining programs. The potential church/state conflict has not generally surfaced in child daycare programs. Few churches housing or sponsoring child daycare provide religious instruction to program participants, and most serve a combination of member and non-member families. Many sponsor a number of human services programs either individually or in collaboration with other churches.

Churches are a primary participant in resource mobilization for child daycare. Some of the first programs established in this country were under church sponsorship, whereas government participation has been relatively recent. Yet the religious community is often overlooked or underrepresented in advocacy efforts. Resource developers will often find that churches can provide valuable assistance in fundraising, whether or not they are in a position to finance daycare programs.

Business and Industry

To date, the business community has constituted only a small part of the funding picture, but businesses have provided sponsorship, space, planning and development assistance, and sometimes funds for ongoing operations. There seems to be a growing interest in industry-sponsored child daycare. During World War II industry took on a leadership role in child daycare development. As the number of women in the work force began to rise sharply in the early 1960s, industry seemed to take a new look at the issue. However, the role of the federal government was also increasing at that time. There were a few significant examples of industry collaborations with government in providing employer-related services. With the present reduction of the federal role, industry seems to be once more evaluating the benefits of child daycare sponsorship.

A number of problems have yet to be resolved. Current economic conditions deter even those industries with a history of interest in and commitment to the provision of employee child care services. There are complex issues of employee relationships and specific liabilities that must be addressed. There is no doubt about the need for employer assistance in this area, and there is evidence of the cost benefits of employer-sponsored assistance. But there are unanswered questions bound up in long traditions regarding the role of women in the workplace. As more two-parent family mothers are working, the breakdown of arrangements presents a crisis not only for working

women but for their husbands as well. Ultimately, employers may be faced with a choice of helping to find child daycare solutions or favoring childless employees, both male and female, over parents.

There are strong indications that business and industry are increasingly concerned with this problem. The degree to which employers will participate in direct service delivery or resource development remains to be seen. Certainly, business and industry cannot be expected to pick up the entire tab as government withdraws its support. But since child daycare is an employment-related issue, it is appropriate that employers be involved in efforts to find solutions. Contributions may include not only funding but technology and other supports. There are also options for tax benefits that should be explored. Any effort to mobilize funds for child daycare should include broad participation by employers.

Organized Labor

One of the early leaders in the quest for adequate child daycare was organized labor. The Coalition of Labor Union Women has supported efforts to secure funds for child daycare services for union members. A 1978 survey found seven child daycare centers sponsored by labor unions. These centers were operated by the union but received funding from employers who hired union members.

The International Ladies' Garment Workers Union contributed funds for planning and research for the development of the Children's Village, a child care center serving garment workers in Philadelphia. A U.S. Department of Labor publication in 1982 reported that the Baltimore Region of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers' Union negotiated for employers to donate 2 percent of their gross payroll to a union health and welfare fund to be used for child daycare services.

The history of interest in and support for child daycare by organized labor indicates that this group should be viewed as a potential ally and a potential resource. The influence of organized labor in certain localities could be an important factor in mobilizing resources. In some instances national unions have been willing to lend financial support to pilot projects.

Philanthropy

Another small part of the funding picture for child daycare is philanthropic giving. There are those rare individuals whose business is giving money to worthy organizations and causes. Occasionally, an individual emerges as a significant financier of child daycare in a community. In Tyler, Texas, an individual with a strong interest in

young children established a local foundation with his personal funds to finance a city-wide preschool program. The Caldwell schools have been in operation for many years serving a cross-section of the population at minimum fees. These are part-day programs, but they help to meet the daycare needs of many children.

Individual contributions should not be overlooked. They are more likely to be a resource in a financial crisis than for ongoing operations, but they do play an important role. Such patrons are rare, but a review of resource mobilization that neglects their contributions would be incomplete.

Parents

In a discussion of resources for child daycare the role of parents also cannot be overlooked. It is true that many parents need assistance, but as a group they pay a major portion of the costs of child care. Most studies focus on center-based or "organized" family daycare. There is no way to calculate the total amount of individual family funds going into the purchase of child care arrangements. In the late 1970s it was estimated that parents paid approximately $7.5 billion for child daycare, while all public program financing combined accounted for about $2.5 billion.

In other words, parents are the major financial resource for child daycare. They can and do purchase services. It is not suggested that parents cease to pay for these services. Resource mobilization is a matter of finding appropriate supplements to parent fees so that a reasonable balance can be achieved. The goal is to make adequate child care affordable with a mix of resources including the all-important parent fee.

SHARING THE COST

In seeking solutions to the child daycare dilemma, financing is a major issue. If all the other problems of policy and program were to be resolved, the question would remain: Who will pay for child daycare services? It is clear that parents will continue to pay a high percentage of the cost. It is equally clear that many families simply cannot afford the full cost, especially one-parent families with limited earning capability.

For the sake of a productive society and a healthy future population, child daycare is an essential service. Some formula must be found for society to share this financial responsibility with parents. It makes good "dollars and sense" that this mix should include both public and private funds. It should include employer contributions, collective bargaining through unions, and a wide range of federal, state, and local resources.

The exact mix will vary from one community to another. The cast of characters and the level of financial responsibility should reflect local economic and employment conditions. However, there is a strong position for a federally guaranteed base to make the mythical "safety net" a reality. No American child should suffer developmental damage due to an absence of care while mothers work to support their families and to meet the labor needs of this nation.

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CONCLUSION

Solving the child daycare dilemma will take time, effort, and money. Not only are service levels inadequate, but existing services need improvement. More efficient and economical delivery systems are needed and a variety of supportive elements will be required.

Much of the progress made during the late 1960s and early 1970s has been diminished by the recent decline in the economy and the disproportionate federal budget cuts in services to children.

There is no simple answer. However, with community commitment and a public/private partnership on behalf of young children and their families, solutions can be found.

This book has provided an overview of the child daycare crisis. As a nation concerned for family stability, national productivity, and human rights, we must find an answer for the mother who asks: "What will happen to my children while I am at work?"

The answer to her question has implications for employers, educators, politicians, social workers, nurses and doctors, and society as a whole. Her children are indeed our children. The simple truth is that the way we respond to the child daycare problem will shape tomorrow's world.

AFTERWORD

Child daycare programs in America, taken together, can best be described as primarily a purchase of service or market system. Parents choose and pay for their own care to the extent they are able, and government purchases or partially subsidizes some of the care. Head Start and the schools offer managed programs, but most of the child care system is not a managed program.

The market system has some decided advantages. It offers great diversity in programs. It is also driven—to some extent at least—by parent choice.

But the system has major disadvantages. It lacks most of the qualities a managed program has: training and technical assistance to providers, rational resource allocation, planned change as the pattern of demand shifts, quality controls, a sense of identity and commitment to a common purpose, central and easy accessibility for parents, and efficient use of available spaces.

Furthermore, child daycare in America is hampered by government policymakers who tend to set up limited programs for limited purposes. Increasingly, we see two streams of programs: private ones parents pay for and segregated, subsidized ones government pays for.

The challenge for the future is whether this country can create one child daycare system that will preserve the values of the non-managed market system, while adding what is needed to make it work better. The public is just becoming aware of the numbers of children using and needing child daycare and of some of the potential risks. At the same time, the public is also becoming convinced of the importance of early childhood education. Some kind of policy action seems likely.

I believe there are only a few possible policy directions. One is that we could assign child daycare to the public school system. A trend carrying policy in this direction is school reform as well as a strong interest in research that shows that early childhood education has positive and lasting effects.

This scenario sounds easy, since everybody is familiar with the school system and how it works. Further, it is attractive because public schools are universally available, even though it is extremely unlikely all of them could provide child care or even four-year-old education. The main disadvantage, however, is that daycare gains of the last twenty or thirty

years would be lost, since schools are unlikely to support the existing diverse network of private family daycare homes, nursery schools, and private daycare centers. It would be a major setback to lose the expertise of these daycare programs and begin again in the public school system, which generally lacks child development expertise. Further, we would lose valuable parent choice and parent control along with program diversity.

Another course of action seems more complex but is really much simpler. This solution would be to build on, link up, expand, and improve the market system, including school-based programs. Some central community-based organization, like a 4-C or a resource and referral organization, would be responsible for helping but not managing the diverse daycare market. A trend moving policy in this direction is the increased interest among employers in supporting such central organizations and the growth in child care policies in business that promote parent choice. Another is the interest of states in public-private partnerships.

With this solution, states could improve their sliding fee policies for subsidizing low- and moderate-income families. The variety of public and private funding sources could reach parents through the local organization. Head Start, the local schools, and private providers could expand their early childhood programs and child care services as needed. State and federal governments could provide support for training and improve the state regulatory systems. Such government leadership could then stimulate local public and private support for the central-linking community-based functions.

The second scenario would probably result in a better system sooner than the first, but it is more complex to explain and understand.

At this point, the future of child daycare in the United States stands at a crossroads. It could go in either of these directions. Or advocates of each direction could stalemate, leaving child daycare stuck as it now is with inadequate understanding and support and no clear policy.

If this is to be prevented, one thing is certain. Groups concerned with the future of child care must agree and begin to work together coherently. Otherwise, American children and their families will continue to suffer the consequences of our present, unmanaged market system.

Gwen G. Morgan
Boston
December 1984

APPENDIX

NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS SUPPORTIVE TO CHILD ADVOCACY

American Academy of
Child Psychiatry
1424 16th Street, N.W., #201A
Washington, DC 20036

American Academy
of Pediatrics
1300 North 17th Street
Suite 350
Arlington, VA 22209

American Public Health
1015 15th Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20005

American Pub. Welfare Assoc.
1125 15th St., N.W.
Suite 300
Washington, DC 20005

Association for Childhood
Education International
3615 Wisconsin Ave., N.W.
Washington, DC 20016

CDA National Credentialling
Program
1341 G Street, N.W.
Suite 802
Washington, DC 20005

Center on Social Welfare
Policy and Law
1029 Vermont Ave., N.W.
Washington, DC 20005

Child Care Action Campaign
P.O. Box 313
New York, NY 10185

Child Welfare League
1346 Connecticut Ave., N.W.
Suite 310
Washington, DC 20036

Children's Defense Fund
122 C Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20036

Family Impact Seminars
1001 Connecticut Ave., N.W.
Suite 310
Washington, DC 20036

Family Service Association
of America
1346 Connecticut Ave., N.W.
Suite 712
Washington, DC 20036

League of Women Voters
1730 M Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20009

March of Dimes
1707 H Street, N.W.
Room 600
Washington, DC 20006

NAACP
1025 Vermont Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC 20036

National Association for Child Care Management
1800 M Street, N.W.
Suite 1030N
Washington, DC 20036

National Association for the Education of Young Children
1834 Connecticut Ave., N.W.
Washington, DC 20009

National Association for Retarded Citizens
1522 K Street, N.W.
Suite 516
Washington, DC 20005

National Association of Social Workers
425 H Street, N.W.
Suite H
Washington, DC 20005

National Black Child Development Institute
1463 Rhode Island Ave., N.W.
Washington, DC 20005

National Conference of Catholic Charities
1346 Connecticut Ave., N.W.
Washington, DC 20036

National Council of Jewish Women
1346 Connecticut Ave., N.W.
Suite 924
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National Mental Health Assoc.
1800 North Kent Street
Arlington, VA 22209

National Parent Center
1341 G Street, N.W.
Suite 205A
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National Urban League
425 13th Street, N.W.
Suite 515
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National Women's Law Center
1751 N Street, N.W.
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North American Council on Adoptable Children
1345 Connecticut Ave., N.W.
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Washington, DC 20036

Society for Research and Child Development
2025 I Street, N.W.
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Washington, DC 20006

U.S. Catholic Conference
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